

# COPTIC MARTYRDOMS

ETC.

## IN THE DIALECT OF UPPER EGYPT

EDITED, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

BY

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IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

# I

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## PREFACE

THE present volume contains the Coptic texts, with translations, of an interesting and important series of ten Martyrdoms, Lives of great Ascetics, Discourses on Asceticism, and the History of Abbâtôn, the Angel of Death, &c.; all of them are dated and are written in the dialect of Upper Egypt, and are published herein for the first time. The editing of the texts has been carried out by an arrangement with my colleague Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum.

The longest and perhaps the most interesting text from an historical point of view is the Martyrdom of Victor, who is said to have held the rank of General in the Imperial Roman Army in the reign of Diocletian. The narrative opens with a description of the Emperor's devotion to the seventy gods and goddesses who formed his Pantheon, and of the incidents that caused Victor to reject the Emperor's service, and to hurl the badge of his rank in his face. The Four Acts of the Martyrdom describe the tortures that were inflicted upon Victor by the Emperor at Antioch,

and by the Dukes of Alexandria, of Antinoë, and of the Thebaïd, in Egypt, and shew how anxious each official was to avoid responsibility for the Saint's death. The attempt to kill Victor by means of a philtre made of the juices from the bodies of dead men, and the conversion of the magician, who promptly burnt his books of magic when he found they had failed him, throw some interesting light on the beliefs of the period. A most valuable supplement to this Martyrdom is the Encomium of Celestinus, who describes a series of miracles which took place in the shrines of Victor in Antioch and Rome.

The history of Placidus, afterwards called Eustathius, who in it is described as one of Trajan's greatest generals, and of his wife and sons, is of considerable value, because it illustrates a section of Coptic literature which was written as much to interest and amuse the reader as to edify and instruct. The story of the conversion of Placidus through the appearance of the Cross of Christ between the horns of a stag in a dense forest is told dramatically, and the narrative of the loss of his slaves, and goods and possessions, and wife and sons, is concise and effective. The description of the way in which all the members of the family were reunited contains all the elements of a story written merely to amuse, and enhances the tragical effect of the final section of it in which we find that Placidus and his wife and sons were burnt to death in a brazen bull by the order of Hadrian.

Two of the texts in this volume describe journeys that were undertaken by the famous ascetics Pambo and Paphnutius, for the purpose of visiting the anchorites and solitaries who lived far away in the desert. Guided first by Hierax and Pamoun, and then carried by supernatural means, Pambo found himself at the cell of Apa Cyrus, who said he was the brother of the Emperor Theodosius, and who allowed no man to see his face except Pambo. Cyrus was visited in his cell by our Lord, Who kissed him like a friend, and Who removed his dead body from his cell, and buried it. The narrative of Paphnutius is longer, and describes the anchorites of the desert, who went naked and ate grass and herbs, and herded with the wild animals and 'buffaloes'. The second portion shews that he must have visited the solitaries who lived near the 'Great Oasis', or Khârgah, in the Western Desert, and this Coptic version of the Life of Onnophrios is important.

The incidents in the life of Demetrius, Patriarch of Alexandria, described by Flavianus, Bishop of Ephesus, appear to be extracted from a work that dealt with the lives of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. Demetrius was a good and holy man, but after he was raised to the Patriarchal Throne he continued to live with the wife whom he had married when he was a very young man. An angel appeared to him, and told him that he must explain this 'mystery' to his congregation, and the story of how he did so is not the least interesting portion of the

narrative of Flavianus. In the latter part of his *Encomium Flavianus* describes the martyrdom of Marturia and her two sons, at the instance of her husband Zôkratôr, the apostate, and the events that led up to it. This story is told in connection with Peter, the Patriarch of Alexandria, the successor of Demetrius, who was hated by Diocletian.

The life of John the Monk is a form of a story that was very popular among Oriental Christians, and has much in common with the well-known life of the Ethiopian saint Maba'a Şeyôn. John was the son of Eutropius, a nobleman of Rome, and his mother Theodora was probably a Christian. He left his home secretly with an aged monk, who took him to a monastery in the desert, and induced the Archimandrite to admit him among the brethren. After six years spent in the performance of the most rigorous ascetic exercises his health failed, and home sickness, which he regarded as a temptation of the Devil, drove him to ask permission from the Archimandrite to leave the monastery and return to his native city. He left with the prayers of all the brethren, and, having exchanged his monastic garb for the rags of a beggar, he in due course arrived at his father's house. At first he lived by the gateway, and the porter shewed him great kindness. His parents saw him from time to time as they passed from and to the house, but did not recognize him. He lived for some years in a small hut which the porter had built for him in

the garden, and received daily from his father's table food that he gave to those who were poorer than himself. Knowing his end was near, he persuaded the porter to take a message to his mother in which he asked her to come and see him. When, after earnest persuasion to do so from her husband, she went with Eutropius to the hut, John revealed himself to her, and proved his identity by producing a golden Evangelarium, set with precious stones, which his father had given to him before he became a monk. At length the parents recognized their son, but as they were about to embrace him he died.

Two texts in this volume deal with asceticism, and are of considerable interest; both are by Apa Ephraim, who is probably the famous ascetic and writer commonly called 'Ephraim Syrus', who died about 373. The first is a discourse addressed to some brethren unknown, in which he laments the decay of learning and piety among the monks, and bids them remember the exalted character of their vocation, and to emulate the example of the saints of old. The object of every monk must be purity of mind and thought; indifference and carelessness lead a man to perdition. The second work of Ephraim is an Epistle to a beloved disciple. It inculcates humility of mind and soul, courtesy to fellow monks, and lays down for the monk a set of rules of a practical character, including directions for everyday behaviour in the refectory and dormitory. The Epistle concludes

with a statement of the Faith of the Catholic Church.

The last document in the volume is a discourse on the Angel of Death, who is here called Abbatôn, i. e. Abaddôn, the Hebrew name of Apollyôn (Rev. ix. 11), the Angel or King of the Abyss. The author of the discourse is Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria (died 385), who transcribes a legend which he found in an ancient volume in the library of Jerusalem, which was founded by the Holy Apostles, and supplied with histories of their lives and acts for the edification of believers. The disciples were unable to understand why Abbatôn had been made by God the king of all mankind, and they asked our Lord to explain this to them before He finally ascended into heaven. The legend states that God sent seven angels one after the other to the earth, to bring back to Him therefrom some virgin earth, out of which He might fashion Adam. When the first angel came to the earth, and reached out his hand to take some of it, the earth cried out and adjured him by God's Name not to do so, because it knew what sorrow would await it if it were made into a man. Terrified by the Great Name, the angel returned without the earth, as did all the other angels except one. The exception was Mouriël, to whom God Himself afterwards gave the name of 'Abbatôn', who paid no heed to the protests of the earth, but obeyed God's command to him, and in return God made him the master of all mankind. At that time Abbatôn was a seven-

headed monster, with projecting teeth and tusks nearly a foot long, with eyes and face like revolving wheels of fire, whose snortings were like the crackling of flames in a lake of boiling sulphur and bitumen, and whose breathings were like unto seven thunders. Whenever he appeared to men they died immediately of fright, for his hideousness, and cruelty, and mercilessness terrified every one.

When the angels saw what an awful monster Abbatôn was they told God that not only all men would die when they saw him, but that they, the angels, would 'perish through terror' at the sight of him. Then, in answer to an appeal from Abbatôn, God gave him the power to change his form, and to appear to those whose names were written in the Book of Life as a kind and gentle friend, who removed their souls from their body painlessly. To all those who remained in their natural state of sin, and who did not make offerings to Abbatôn on the day of his festival, God permitted him to appear on their death-beds in the form of a seven-headed monster, with a fiery face and blazing eyes, and furious snortings and a voice loud as sevenfold thunder. The sin of Adam and Eve caused Abbatôn to be set over all mankind. The Lord, having related to the Apostles the whole history of the rebellion of Satan, and of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, and the part which He would take in the Great Judgement, went up into heaven.

The texts printed in this volume are of great importance for the history of Christianity in Egypt, for the information supplied by them either is new, or is given in a fuller form than that found in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* and in the 'Paradise' of Palladius. The dates in the colophons prove that the manuscripts from which they are edited were copied during the second half of the tenth century. As three of the volumes formed part of the library of the famous Monastery of Saint Mercurius in Edfû, and as the fourth was in the library of the church of Saint Victor in the same town, we may assume that their contents represent the views and beliefs of the great monastic communities of Upper Egypt at the most flourishing period of their history.

I am indebted to the Director, Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, for his help in deciphering the Greek portions of the colophons, and for some friendly suggestions. To the readers of the Oxford University Press my thanks are also due.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

### 1. ORIENTAL No. 7022.

THIS manuscript contains 59 vellum leaves measuring from 12 to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length by about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. in width. The pagination runs from  $\overline{\alpha}-\overline{\varphi}$ , then we have  $\overline{\varphi\alpha}$  *bis*,  $\overline{\varphi\beta}$ ,  $\overline{\varphi\gamma}$ ,  $\overline{\varphi\delta}$ ,  $\overline{\varphi\epsilon}$ ,  $\overline{\varphi\zeta}$ ,  $\overline{\varphi\eta}-\overline{\varphi\theta}$ . The quires are eight in number, and are signed by letters, but in the wrong order. The second and third quires contain seven leaves each, five contain eight leaves, and the last quire contains four leaves. Many of the leaves are very irregular in shape, and the scribe used every fragment of the skins with which he was supplied. Each page is filled with one column of writing containing from 24 to 32 lines. The writing is bold and good, but the letters vary considerably in size. The texts are decorated with head-pieces, the most interesting being shewn on Plates I and II; the main sections are marked by a line composed of short lines and dots (see Plate III). On several pages the letters  $\alpha$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\varphi$ ,  $\tau$ , and  $\sigma$  are enlarged and decorated when they occur in the top line (see Plate IV), and in many places numbers which are written out in full in the text are repeated as numerical letters on the margin (see Plates I and IV). A good specimen of the average page is given on Plate V. On Fol. 60 *a* a peculiar animal is drawn in outline (see Plate VI). The Colophon (see Plate VII) supplies the history of the making of the manuscript and gives its date. The vellum, ink, &c., necessary for writing the manuscript were provided by a certain 'God-loving deacon', whose name appears to have been Pourot(?), and it was given by

him to the church of Saint Victor of Tebô, or Apollinopolis, i. e. Edfû. The Colophon mentions Apa Abraham, the Archimandrite of the Monastery of Saint Mercurius of Tebô, and Joseph and Zôkratôr, the son and grandson respectively of the Archdeacon of the church of St. John the Baptist, in the town of Esnâ, or Asnâ, in Upper Egypt. The copying of the manuscript was finished on the eighteenth day of Pharmuthi (April 13) in the six hundred and sixty-seventh year [of the Era] of Diocletian, i. e. A. D. 951.

The contents of the manuscript are as follows :

1. The Martyrdom of Saint Victor the General, who suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Diocletian, on the twenty-seventh day of the month Pharmuthi (April 22). **ⲧⲉⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ . . . . ⲡⲧⲁϥⲱⲕ ⲛⲉ ⲉ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧⲱ . ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲧ ⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲁⲩⲩϥⲉ ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ .** Fol. 1 *a*.

2. The Second Martyrdom of Saint Victor. **ⲧⲉⲉⲣ ⲥⲓⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲗⲁⲧⲏⲥ .** Fol. 11 *a*.

3. The Third Martyrdom of Saint Victor. **ⲧⲉⲉⲣ ⲩⲱⲟⲙⲧⲉ . ⲡⲉ . ⲙⲉⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲉ ⲡⲣⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ .** Fol. 15 *a*.

4. The Fourth Martyrdom of Saint Victor. **ⲧⲉⲉⲣ ϥⲧⲟ . ⲁ . ⲙⲉⲁⲣⲧⲏⲣⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲏ .** Fol. 19 *b*. At the foot of Fol. 26 *a* the deacon Joseph, the son of Sisinnios, Archdeacon of the church of Saint John the Forerunner and Baptist in the town of Latopolis (Esnâ), entreats the readers of the manuscript to pray for him, the most miserable and wretched sinner.

5. The Encomium which the Patriarch Celestinus, Archbishop of Rome, pronounced on Saint Victor in the Martyrium in Rome which had been built in honour of the saint by the 'God-loving Emperor'. **ⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲕⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲥⲓ ⲡⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁⲣϥⲏⲥ ⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲓⲛⲧⲱ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲓⲁⲥⲕⲁⲗⲱⲥ**

ημεε · ἀπὰ κελεσφνος παρχιεπισκοπος η̄ τπολις  
 ερωειη · Fol. 26 *b*.

6. Colophon and date. Fol. 59 *b*.

7 Outline drawing of a fierce-eyed animal. Fol. 60 *a*.

## 2. ORIENTAL No. 6783.

This manuscript contains 84 stout vellum leaves measuring from 12 to 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in length and from 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 in. in width. The pagination runs from  $\overline{\alpha}$  to  $\overline{\rho\zeta\eta}$ , and the last page is blank. The quires, which are signed by letters, are eleven in number; the first and second quires contain seven leaves each, the eighth contains six leaves, and all the other quires contain eight leaves each. The leaves vary greatly in thickness and in size. One column of writing, which contains from 24 to 26 lines, occupies each page. The texts are decorated with head-pieces which are sometimes composed of two bands of basket work, with angle-pieces, volutes, and copper crosses; above these are  $\overline{\alpha}$  and  $\overline{\omega}$  and  $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$   $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$  (see Plates VIII, IX, and X). On Fol. 30 *b* the decoration of the head-piece is peculiar to itself, and the initial, with the words 'light' and 'life' written inside it, is interesting (see Plate XI). Characteristic tail-pieces are illustrated by Plates XII and XIII. Ornamental initials, the arrangement of paragraphs, and peculiarities of writing and punctuation are exhibited by Plates XIV–XVI. Pieces of leather have been fastened on the edges of the leaves that contain the openings of the various compositions in the manuscript to enable the reader to find each section easily. According to the Colophon (see Plates XVII and XVIII) the manuscript was copied by the most wretched and sinful Victor, the deacon, the son of Mercurius, the deacon, the son of Epônuchos, the Archdeacon of the church of Saint Mercurius the General, in the town of Latopolis, or Esnâ, in Upper Egypt. The copying was finished on the twenty-third day

The contents of the manuscript are as follows :

2. The Life of Cyrus, the perfect monk, as told by Apa Pambo, the presbyter of the Church at Scete. Fol. 23a.

3. The Encomium of Flavianus, Bishop of Ephesus, on Demetrius, Archbishop of Alexandria. 100  
 οὐρεσκωμειον ε αϋ-  
 τατοου π̄σι πεν πετ οτααβ̄ π̄ ειωτ φλαβιανος  
 πεπισκοπος π̄ εφεσος τπολις ε αϋτατοου ε πρα-  
 τος αμιντριος παρχνεπισκοπος π̄ ρακοτε ρ̄ε  
 περοοτ̄ ᾱ πεϋρ̄ παεεεε · Fol. 30 b.



This manuscript contains 73 paper leaves measuring from  $11\frac{1}{2}$  to 12 in. in length and about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in. in width. The pagination runs from  $\overline{\alpha}$  to  $\overline{\delta\alpha}$ , and then omitting  $\overline{\delta\eta}$  and  $\overline{\delta\tau}$  goes on to  $\overline{\rho\epsilon\eta}$ . The quires are signed with letters.  $\overline{\alpha}$  contains seven leaves and  $\overline{\eta}$  to  $\overline{\eta}$  eight leaves each, and there are ten leaves in quire  $\overline{\theta}$  (Foll. 72 and 73). One column of writing contains from 24 to 26 lines, and the letters are bold and well formed (see Plates XX and XXI). The style of the head-pieces, capital letters, marginal decorations, &c., are illustrated by Plates XXII–XXIV. According to the Colophon (see Plates XXV and XXVI) the manuscript was copied by Victor the deacon, the son of Mercurius the deacon. The copying was finished on the third day of the month Tybi (December 29), in the Third Indiction, in the seven hundred and twenty-first year of the Era of the Martyrs, which date the manuscript equates with the three hundred and sixty-fifth year of the ‘Era of the Saracens’, i.e. the Era of the Flight (Hijrah). Now Anno Mart. 721 = A. D. 1005 and Anno Hijrah 365 = A. D. 975; there is, therefore, as in MS. Or. 6783, a difference of 30 years between the two dates. But

τξε may be a scribe's mistake for τρε, and if this be so the difference between the two dates disappears. The expense of copying the manuscript and the materials was shared by Abba Abraham, the Archimandrite, and Abba Chaél, the warden of the Monastery, and Zacharias the deacon, who presented it to the Library of the Monastery of Saint Mercurius.

The contents of the manuscript are:

1. The Life of Abba Onnophrios, the Anchorite, by Apa Panoute. πῆρις αὐὼ πολλοῦ αἰ πεν πετ οὐααβ ἦ εἰωτ · ἐτ ταῖντ κατὰ σεοτ κίεε ἀπα οννοφριος παναχωριτης · Fol. 1 *a*.

2. The Discourse which Apa Demetrius, Archbishop of Antioch, preached on the birth according to the flesh of God the Word. οὐλοτος ε αἰτατοῦ ἡσι ἀπα ἀμεντριος παρχνεπισκοπος η πόλις ἀντιοχία ε αἰτατοῦ ε περπο κατὰ σαργῆ αἰ πνοτε πλοτος · Fol. 21 *b*.

#### 4. ORIENTAL No. 7025.

This manuscript contains 32 vellum leaves, many of which are very irregular in shape, measuring about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. in length and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. in width. The quires are five in number, and are signed by letters; when the manuscript was complete each quire contained eight leaves. Of the first quire three leaves are missing, and there is therefore a break in the pagination ( $\overline{7}$ – $\overline{12}$ ). Each page contains two columns of text, and the number of lines in the column varies from 18 to 22. The title of the work in the manuscript is ornamented with a simple, two-colour, twisted design (see Plate XXVII), and on the upper margin of the first and last leaves of the quires is the usual fourfold, plaited ornament (see Plate XXVIII). The character of the writing, and the style and arrangement of the large initial letters, are well shewn by Plates XXIX and XXX. The manuscript was copied by Theophistus who, according to the Colophon (see Plate XXXI), finished the copying on the eleventh day of the month of Thôth

(August 8), in the Third Indiction, in the six hundred and ninety-eighth year of the Era of the Martyrs, i. e. A. D. 982. The expense of copying and making the manuscript was borne by Chaël, the son of Stephen, the lion-hunter, and when complete he gave the volume to the Monastery of Saint Mercurius in the city of Tebô, the modern Edfû, in order that the saint might beseech Christ to preserve him from all the wiles of the Devil in this world, and to give him favour in the sight of the Angel of Death and before God (see Plate XXXII). The manuscript contains one work only, namely, an Encomium by Timothy, Archbishop of Alexandria, on the history of the stablishing of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death.

οἱ τεκνωμενοι ε αἰτατοου ἡσι πεν πετ οἱ ααβ  
 ἡ εἰωτ · ετ ταῖντ κατα σεοτ ημε · ἀπα θεοθεος  
 παρχνεπισκοπος ἡ ρακοτε · ἡταῖτατοου δε ε  
 τῆε πταο ε ρατῆ ἡ ἀββατων παττελος αη πεοτ ·

## II. SUMMARIES OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

### 1. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT VICTOR.

Of the early years and education of Victor, the martyr, the Coptic martyrdom tells us very little, but a little information concerning them is found in an Ethiopic manuscript preserved in the British Museum (Oriental 729). According to this authority Victor's mother, who was called Mârtâ ማርታ, i. e. Martha, had lived with her husband Hermânôs ህርማኖስ, i. e. Romanus, for thirty years, and had borne him no son (Fol. 4 a, col. 1). She made many offerings in the local church, and prayed very earnestly for a son, and one day when she had also paid adoration to the figure of the Virgin Mary that was in the church, the figure nodded its head towards Martha as a sign that her prayer had been heard (Fol. 4 b). As a result Martha gave birth to a son at Antioch.

on the thirteenth day of the month Yakâtî (February 7), and she sent her servant to tell her husband what had happened, and he told the Emperor. The child was called Bâktêr, and God sent down a cloth of gold for him from heaven (Fol. 5 a). At the wish of Martha Victor was baptized by the Archbishop Theodore (Fol. 6 a), and Diocletian, who at that time was favourable to the Christians, sent soldiers and horses and chariots to accompany the baptismal party (Fol. 6 b). The Archbishop blessed the child (Fol. 7 a), and when the Empress Pelterâbyâ heard the blessing she was seized with jealousy, and she snatched the child out of his nurse's arms and dashed him on the ground, meaning to kill him (Fol. 7 b). His mother picked him up, and having laid him before the statue of the Virgin Mary in the church, all evil effects of his injuries were removed. The Empress tried to steal the cloth of gold from the child, and made further attempts to kill him, but she failed to do him any harm (Fol. 8 a). Martha took steps to hide the cloth of gold of her son, and complained to Diocletian of his wife's enmity to her (Fol. 9 a). When Victor was taken to a great feast made by his father, Diocletian attempted to steal the cloth of gold from him, but, just as he was about to do so, an angel snatched it away, and flew up into the air with it (Fol. 10 a). When Victor was ten years of age he was betrothed to the daughter of Basileides (Fol. 10 b). He was sent to school where he learned all the Books of the Prophets and their interpretation, and the Angel of God preserved him from every sin (Fol. 11 a), and Christ appeared to him and gave him commands (Fol. 12 a). On Fol. 12 b begins the account of Diocletian's change of attitude towards the Christians, and of his setting up graven images, 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, and of his conspiracy to slay Gâgyôs 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Caius), Archbishop of Antioch (Fol. 13 a). The sight of the Emperor's idolatry horrified the people of Antioch, and they approved greatly when Victor took up in his hands the mud of the street

and rubbed it over the face of the statue of Apollo **ወሥኡ፡ መሬተ፡ እምነ፡ ምድር፡ ወነዘኃ፡ ቦቱ፡ ላዕሊ፡ ገጹ፡ ለአጵሎን፡** (Fol. 13 b, col. 2), and cursed it as an unclean thing. From this point onwards the Ethiopic Life of Victor agrees in many places with the statements made in the Coptic version of his martyrdom. The facts given in this Life and in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*<sup>1</sup> appear to have been derived from a common source.

Returning now to the Coptic text we find that Diocletian began to worship idols publicly in the third year of his reign, i. e. about 286. He made seventy images in gold, viz. of thirty-five gods and of thirty-five goddesses, the names of some of which are preserved on a papyrus fragment recently published by Mr. Crum.<sup>2</sup> Besides these he worshipped 140 other gods, and he promulgated a decree, a copy of which was affixed to the door of his Palace, ordering every subject of his, no matter of what grade, from 'Rômania' to Philae, to worship them. Every Christian was to be put to death by the sword. He called upon his officers to make this decree effective, and appointed a day whereon at dawn they were to appear in the temple to offer up sacrifices to the gods with him. On the 27th of March Diocletian and his nobles set out for the temple very early in the morning, and two hundred white horses drew his gods thither. Two hundred lamps on golden stands, and four hundred lamps on silver stands, were lighted, the silver altar was made ready, and incense was burnt in the golden censer, and libations of oil and wine were poured out, and fine wheaten cakes were offered up on the altar. Opposite the altar stood a statue of Apollo upon a pedestal of gold, and the Emperor took his crown from his head, and placed it on the head of Apollo,

<sup>1</sup> See Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 661, Month of Miyāzyā, day 27 (Fol. 45 b, col. 2-Fol. 46 a, col. 2).

<sup>2</sup> e. g. Artemis, Persephone, Selene, Calliope, Erinnys, Nemesis, Hera, &c. See Crum, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part XII, Oxford, 1913, pp. 83-5.

and he worshipped the god three times, as the giver of victory in war. After Diocletian, the three Caesars—here called Romanus, Basileides, and Euaius—advanced and worshipped Apollo, and made offerings of thirty, twenty, and ten centenarii of gold to the temple; Diocletian's contribution was sixty centenarii of gold and three very precious jewels for the crown of Apollo. When the three Caesars had offered up sacrifice to Apollo and the gods, 600,000 soldiers and 2,000,000 of people followed their example. A certain official called Basileides refused to worship the gods, and he and all his house were promptly put to death by Diocletian. The throng in the temple was so great, and the fumes of the incense so suffocating, that 5,000 people died therein, and 5,000 more were crushed to death by the mob outside.

When Romanus had superintended the carrying out of the Emperor's orders, he called upon his son Victor to come and offer up sacrifice. Now Victor was a Christian, and all his sympathies were with the Christians. He prayed day and night, ate once a week only, and then only of uncooked food, drank no wine, was continent, took no pleasure in rich apparel, and was uninterested in military expeditions and sports. He associated wholly with his inferiors, but used no foul language, and swore no oaths. He succoured every Christian in distress, and often gave the clothes he was wearing to the poor. He built an apartment for himself, so that he could escape from the society of his parents at pleasure, and in it he lived upon a diet of bread, and salt, and water, and slept on the ground, and prayed 1,065 prayers each day, and 730 each night; and our Lord used to appear to him at intervals and encourage him to further ascetic endeavours. Romanus had betrothed Victor to the daughter of Basileides, his fellow Caesar, but Victor's mind was not set upon marriage, or upon the honours of this world, which he despised.

When Romanus ordered Victor to offer up sacrifice, the

young man rebuked him for allowing the foolishness of idolatry to get a hold upon him, and having quoted passages of Scripture to him, and expressed his sorrow that his father had become 'a man without God', he refused to do so. This conversation was heard by all the soldiers, and Romanus, wishing to avoid a public scandal, begged Victor to do what he asked him, and told him that he would make arrangements for him to be married in the following month. Victor rejected this suggestion, and addressed such a severe rebuke to his father that Romanus lost his temper, and swore that he would deliver his rebellious son into the hands of the Emperor to be put to death. Romanus first attributes his behaviour to magic worked in the Name of Jesus, and goes on to warn his son that it will avail him nothing in the end, but subsequently thinks that this rebellion may have been caused by his delay in bringing about Victor's marriage. In the further conversation that took place between Romanus and Victor, the latter refuses to admit his relationship to an idolater, and the former attempts to persuade Victor to offer up sacrifice by promising him the rank of general, and a position of great honour in the Palace. Finally, Romanus appeals to Victor's affection for his mother, and pictures to him the grief which she will feel when she hears of his behaviour, and promises to add thirty centenarii of gold to the gifts which he will bestow upon Victor on his marriage.

The arguments of Romanus proving ineffectual, his fellow Caesars Basileides and Euaius went to Victor, and begged him to obey his father, but their entreaties only provoked to wrath Victor, who appealed to God in burning words, and referred to the sufferings that he had endured for His sake, and to the fact that for the last twelve years he had only eaten food once a week, and had never had a bath. At length, urged by the Devil, Romanus handed Victor over to Diocletian, who asked him why he had not obeyed his father's commands. Thereupon Victor tore off the gold

chain and the insignia of his rank which he was wearing, and threw them in the Emperor's face, saying that he would no longer wear the badge of a mortal emperor, but would wear that of the Celestial Emperor Christ. Diocletian, amazed at Victor's boldness, reminded him of the tortures and punishments which he had the power to inflict upon him, and of his command to suppress all mention of the Name of Christ. Only for the sake of Romanus did he permit Victor to speak a word, and he further reminded Victor that it was one of his predecessors, an Emperor, who gave orders to Pilate, who put Christ to death. At length he said to Victor: 'Either obey thy father, or I will banish thee, and thou shalt be put to death.' Once again Romanus appealed to Victor to offer up sacrifice, but he refused, saying that Christ and not Diocletian was his God. Thereupon Romanus ordered his men to tie Victor's arms behind his back, and to take him outside the city and spear him to death there; and having put a gag in his mouth the soldiers led him away.

At this moment the Devil seized the opportunity of tempting Victor, and, taking the form of a soldier, he exhorted him to obey his father, even as did Isaac, and not to run the risk of incurring the curse of Ham, and he promised to use his own influence with Romanus to have Victor made a general. When the Emperor heard that Romanus had condemned his son to be beheaded in his devotion to his commands and his gods, he sent two soldiers to fetch Victor, and told Romanus that he would banish him to Alexandria where he would die in prison. When Victor heard that Diocletian would not allow him to be beheaded he was furious, and reviled the Emperor, who, though very angry with Victor, did not cause him to be put to death, but simply deprived him of his rank, and ordered him to be supplied with food just sufficient to keep him alive. Subsequently Diocletian had Victor's hands tied behind him, and the crown of his head shaved; and having hung



a bell from his neck, and fastened him to the tail of a horse, four soldiers marched him about the city, beating him with palm branches as he went. The cause of this treatment of a son of one of the Caesars was made known to the populace by a herald who went before Victor.

On the day of the new moon in the month of Pharmuthe (March 27), or New Year's Day, according to the Byzantine Greeks, Dioeletian wrote a dispatch to Armenius, the Count of Rakote (Alexandria), stating that he had banished Victor, and directing him on the arrival of the young man to torture him three times, and then to drive him to the public baths of the city, and burn him in the furnace. Thereupon four soldiers were told off to take Victor to Rakote. They stripped him naked and gagged him, they loaded his legs and feet with iron fetters, they put a collar of iron round his neck, and they drove him before them on the road. Before he departed the soldiers removed his gag and allowed him to have speech with his mother, to whom he explained the events which had brought him to the condition in which she then saw him. He told her that he owed his life at that moment to Diocletian, but his gratitude to the Emperor was not deep, for he prophesied blindness for him, and declared that he would one day beg for alms at the gate of Antioch, and he proclaimed woe unto all those who listened to the counsels of the Emperor. When his mother spoke of the girl who was betrothed to him, he asked her, 'What use is a bride to me?' Then taking off the ring which was on his finger and giving it to his mother, he bade her farewell and left her. He then sealed the door of his bedroom in the Palace in the Name of Christ, and having said good-bye to his slaves, and kissed them, for he had always been a kind and considerate master, he left the Palace, and delivered himself up to his military escort. Having replaced the gag in his mouth, they marched him down to the sea-coast, and put him on board a ship which was

about to sail for Alexandria. The passage seems to have occupied nearly three weeks, for it was not until the twentieth of Pharmuthe that the soldiers who accompanied Victor were able to deliver Diocletian's dispatch to Armenius, the Count of Alexandria.

When the dispatch was put into the hands of Armenius, he was in the Praetorium of Alexandria, busily engaged in sentencing to death the soldiers who had become Christians, and having no time to deal with Victor's case at the moment, he ordered the soldiers to remand him to prison until the following morning. As soon as Armenius had seated himself on his throne of judgement next day he sent for Victor, and told him that although he had been ordered to burn him in the furnace of the public baths, he was willing to spare him for his father's sake. When, in answer to this remark, Victor reminded the Count that he owed his Governorship of Alexandria to Romanus, his father, and to himself, Armenius made his servants to torture him horribly, i. e. they slit his face, and bound him with fetters so tightly that the fetters cut into his flesh, and drove iron pegs through his hands and feet, and when they had loaded him with irons they cast him, hungry and thirsty, into prison. When on the following morning Armenius again sent for him, Victor had to be carried by twelve men into his presence, for he was crushed beneath the weight of his iron fetters, and could not walk. Armenius then called upon Victor to sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis, and when he refused to do so he was put on the rack, and the executioners worked the rollers until they were exhausted. Whilst Victor was being racked, his heart, i. e. soul, was carried up into heaven, and the saints welcomed him and conversed with him. Abel and Zacharias came to him, and Michael exhorted him to endure his sufferings patiently, and described to him the power and glory which he should possess ultimately in heaven. The Archangel then sent

Victor's soul back to his body, which was still suspended on the rack. These tortures having failed to make Victor offer up sacrifice, Armenius had lighted torches fastened to his sides, and red-hot skewers driven through his body from front to back, and his head thrust into an iron helmet, that was filled with hot coals, presumably whilst he was still on the rack. Victor was then lifted from the rack on to the bed of iron, beneath which a fire had been lighted, and then a mixture of tar, bitumen, and sulphur was poured down his throat.

When Armenius discovered that these tortures also failed to make Victor sacrifice to the gods, he ordered his men to cast him gagged and bound into the furnace of the public baths. When this had been done Victor stood up and prayed in the furnace, and immediately the Archangel Michael came down into the furnace, and spread out his apparel over Victor, and lifted him up on his wing of light, which straightway turned into a green meadow. Michael knocked off Victor's fetters, and conversed with him about heaven. When Armenius went to the baths to bathe Michael set Victor on the stone slab before him, so that he might see that the fire had not harmed him. Armenius, believing that Victor's appearance was due to magic, determined to have him beheaded, but as soon as the people of the city heard of his intention they entreated him to banish Victor to the South, for they feared that Victor's father Romanus would destroy their city if his son were put to death therein. Armenius had no wish to make Romanus his enemy, and he therefore sent Victor to the South under military escort, with a letter informing Eutychianus, the Count of the Thebaïd, concerning the orders of Diocletian in respect of him.

A sail of ten days brought Victor and the four soldiers whose prisoner he was to Antinoë, where they found that Eutychianus had departed for the South. Returning to

their boat the soldiers hoisted their sail again and set out for the South, but before they had gone very far they overtook the state barge of the Count of the Thebaïd, which was lying becalmed. They informed Eutyechianus of their business, and handed Victor over to him, and left with him a supply of food sufficient for his immediate needs. Eutyechianus ordered his sailors to put him ashore where he was, and to set up his pavilion wherein, when travelling, he transacted public business. The next morning he ordered his servants to fetch Victor from the bottom of the state barge where he had passed the night in prayer, and when he came into his presence the Count, addressing him by the name of 'magician', ordered him to offer up sacrifice with the people present. This Victor refused to do, and the Count having scoffed at his words, which he called a 'homily', ordered his men to tear out his tongue, and cut off his lips, to thrust red-hot irons through his body, and to pour boiling oil over his members. When Eutyechianus saw that he endured all these tortures with fortitude, and still refused to sacrifice to the gods, he banished him to the fort of Hierakion, which seems to have been situated in the desert country to the south of Thebes. Thither Victor was taken by four soldiers, to whom he related the story of his life as they journeyed along.

One day the Devil took the form of a soldier, and went to Victor, and tried to drive him back into the world by describing to him how Romanus had made the son of one of his servants his heir, and produced a letter which purported to have been sent to him by Romanus. Victor soon recognized the devilish phantom, which disappeared as soon as the saint mentioned the Name of Jesus. For a time Victor seems to have lived quietly in the camp of Hierakion, and he supported himself by making seats and lamp-stands. Whilst he was living there he was visited by a travel-worn, grey-headed old man, whom he believed to be an aged anchorite, and who, at Victor's invitation, entered his tower,

and stood up with him to pray. Whilst they were praying the ten fingers of the old man became like ten fiery lamps, and when the prayer was ended Victor, not suspecting the identity of his visitor, asked him to sit down, so that he might enjoy the sight of his face and conversation with him. During their talk the visitor shewed that he was well acquainted with Victor's history ; and at length asked him to give him a bread-cake, for he had eaten nothing for seven days. Having fasted for forty days Victor had no bread to give him, but he told him to take the stools that were there, and the lamp-stand, and go with them into the town, and sell them at the usual market rate and buy bread for them both. After further conversation, during which Victor described to his visitor how greatly he longed for death, he begged him to bury his body when he died. At these words the visitor wept, and then He revealed Himself to Victor as Jesus, Who had delivered him from his tribulations, and He told Victor that he would be beheaded during the following year in the Camp where he was ; and having described the great fame which should attach itself to the name of Victor, He kissed him and went up into heaven. Victor continued to live in the Camp, and earned sufficient money to buy a coffin for himself and to provide materials for his burial.

Some months later Sebastianus, Duke of the Thebaïd, came to inspect the Camp, and Asterius, the praetor, placed in his hands a written statement about Victor, which had been drawn up by Soterichus, the military secretary. When the Duke had read it he had his pavilion set up inside the gate of the Camp, and ordered Victor to be brought before him. Victor, who was eating lentils in his cell, was summoned, and when he appeared the Emperor's letter was read to him, and the Duke commanded him to offer up sacrifice to the gods. Victor's answer stirred up the wrath of Sebastianus, who promptly had him stripped naked, and

then caused tortures to be applied to him. Victor's sinews were cut, and his hands tied behind him, skewers were thrust through his body, portions of his body were cut out, and he was cast into a fiery furnace. From the interior of the furnace Victor prayed to the Lord, Who came down and extinguished the fire, and when he was set before the Duke again his body was seen to be untouched by the fire. Thereupon Victor was handed over to a magician, and was made to drink a poison concocted with the venom and juice of serpents, over which many potent magical names had been uttered by the magician, with the object of making certain the effect of the poison. Victor swallowed the draught, after making over himself the Sign of the Cross in the Names of the Three Persons of the Trinity, and instead of feeling the agonies of death within him he felt as happy as a man who had been drinking wine. The magician then mixed another draught, into which he poured some of the gall and liquid emanations from the body of a dead man. To make the deadly effect of these substances more sure he pronounced over them a number of magical names of such tremendous power that lightnings shot out of the ground when they were uttered. Victor drank the poison, and when the magician saw that it had no effect upon him he burnt all his books of magic, and denuded himself of all his magical apparatus, and became a Christian. It is interesting to note that the humours derived from dead bodies were used in working magic in the reign of Diocletian, as they are at the present day by the witch-doctors and medicine-men of many tribes in Central Africa.

After this Sebastianus ordered his servants to eviscerate Victor, and he had him tortured with boiling oil, and racked for two hours, and had fires lighted close to his body. He had his mouth filled with vinegar and ashes, and his eyes dug out with red-hot irons, and he left him hanging, head downwards, from a pillar for three days and three nights.

When the soldiers were sent to take him down they were smitten with blindness, but when Victor prayed for them they recovered their sight. Sebastianus then ordered him to be flayed, and whilst this work was being carried out a certain woman, called Stephanou, who was the wife of a soldier, looked out from her window, and with a loud voice blessed Victor, and compared him to Abel, Enoch, Noah, and several other Patriarchs, and proclaimed her readiness to suffer martyrdom. When Sebastianus heard her words he sent soldiers to bring her to him, and when she arrived he ordered her to offer up sacrifice. This she refused to do, and she declared her willingness to receive the martyr's crown. Thereupon the Duke had her tied between two palm-trees which had been forced together by means of a rope. At a given signal the rope was cut, and the two palm-trunks resumed their normal position, tearing Stephanou's body asunder down the middle as they did so. After this Sebastianus ordered his soldiers to cut off Victor's head, but before they did this Victor prophesied that eleven years after his death three things should happen: (1) That Sebastianus should hurt his foot whilst landing from his boat, and the foot should mortify and cause his death. (2) That the roof of a house in which a company of sages and orators were eating should suddenly collapse and fall upon them, and that all who were under it should perish. (3) That Asterius, the praetor, should beat his ass, and that she should bite him, and that he should die through the bite. Having told those about him that he had made proper provision for his funeral, and beseeching them to deliver up his body to those who came to see it, he delivered himself over to the executioner, who gagged him and made ready to cut off his head. The executioner is said to have been a native of the town of Asyût, and to have been an enemy of Victor, and he shewed his enmity, as Victor thought, by his unskilful use of the sword. The blow which he struck

at Victor's neck failed to cut off his head, and left it hanging by the skin, and Victor was able to cry out to an old fellow soldier called Horion,<sup>1</sup> and to beg him to dispatch him quickly. After some hesitation Horion drew his sword, and finished the work which the executioner had begun, and was pardoned by the Lord for slaying His servant Victor. And Horion saw the soul of Victor being taken up into heaven by the angel Asouel, in a napkin made of byssus. Victor was twenty years of age when he died.

The Ethiopic version states that Horion took Victor's body and embalmed it, and laid it in a coffin, which he hid in a chamber in the fort.<sup>2</sup> He then went to Antioch, and gave to Martha, Victor's mother, the sword wherewith he had cut off the head of the saint (Fol. 66 *b*, col. 1). Three years later Martha, guided by Horion, went to Egypt, and was taken to the place where Victor's body was buried (Fol. 70 *a*); and she took the body in her arms and kissed it, and she had it placed in a ship with the view of taking it back to Antioch with her. When the natives of the town discovered her purpose they became very angry, for Victor's body had already become in their sight a protection for their town. When and by whom Victor's body was removed to Asyût is not known.

## 2. THE ENCOMIUM OF CELESTINUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ROME, ON VICTOR THE GENERAL.

This Encomium is said to have been pronounced in the Martyrium of Saint Victor in Rome, which the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> In the Ethiopic Martyrdom his name is given as ሐርዮን: or ሆርዮን: The passage in Oriental No. 729, fol. 65 *b* runs ወዘበጦ: በሰይፍ: በደኅራህ: ወተረፈት: ርእሱ: በቅልት: ወኢተመትረት: ወኮነት: ርእሱ: አንጉርጉረ: በወስተ: ደሙ: ወሰምዓ: ቃሉ: ለሐርዮን: ወወእቱ: እንዘ: ደበኪ: በእንገረካህ: ወግጦ: ገጹ: ንቤሁ: &c.

<sup>2</sup> According to Abû Şâlih (ed. Evetts, p. 251) Victor's body was preserved in the Monastery of Saint Victor at Al-Khusûs, to the east of Suyût.



Valentinianus III (?) had built in honour of the saint, by Celestinus, on the day of the commemoration of Saint Victor. Celestinus opens his discourse by reminding his hearers of the great benefits which every creature on earth owes to God, and to the joy with which we all receive material comforts and food, and tells them that they should receive with far greater joy the spiritual food which God has sent down in great abundance. This day, he says, we celebrate the festival of one of the greatest of the martyrs, and the Angels, and the Martyrs, and the Prophets are here with us assisting at the feast. I wish to pronounce a suitable Encomium, but I have neither the ability nor power to do so. How can a tongue of flesh and a human mind describe the glory and honour which God has bestowed upon Victor? Celestinus compares Victor with Abraham, Elijah, Noah, and Isaac, and several of the Patriarchs, and finds that Victor's virtues were superior to the virtues of them all. There is no saint mentioned in the Scriptures of whom Victor is not the equal. He was a skilled physician of the body as well as of the soul, and by God's power he raised the dead merely by making use of the oil that is in the sanctuary of this martyrrium. I do not ask you to accept second-hand evidence, for I saw the miracle performed with my own eyes, and I will now describe to you how it happened.

A certain wealthy man called Alexander, who lived in this very city, had a wife who was barren, and the lack of a son to inherit his property was a sore grief to him and to his wife. Having heard of the might of Saint Victor, they visited his shrine one day, and made an offering to his martyrrium, and prayed for a son, whom, if given to them, they promised to dedicate to the service of the martyrrium. The saint granted their petition, and a son was born to them, and they called him Victor. When the child was five years of age his parents repented of their promise to devote him to the service of Saint Victor, and, instead of sending him to the martyrrium,

they sold a slave child, and sent the price that they received for him to the martyr's shrine. Some few days later, whilst their son was playing with his friends near the house, a stone from the corner of the house fell upon him and killed him. Distraught with grief the unhappy parents bewailed the loss of their child, and they remembered with keen contrition how they had defrauded the saint of his services. Alexander in his distress bethought himself of Saint Victor, and taking up the dead body of his child in his arms he carried it into the sanctuary, and prayed to the saint for help. This done, he took a little oil from the lamp in the sanctuary, and having touched the lips, breast, and belly of the child therewith, the soul of the boy returned to his body, and he opened his eyes. Alexander took him home amid the acclamations of the crowd, and he gave many slaves and other possessions to the sanctuary, and he himself ministered in the shrine until the day of his death. The child also became a servant of the martyrdom, and at length became a presbyter, and Saint Victor used to appear unto him from time to time.

And again, let me describe to you another miracle wrought by Saint Victor. A niece of the Emperor Honorius, called Kallientropia, was lying down during the great heat of the day, when suddenly a devil leaped into her breasts, which immediately began to swell and to throb and to cause her great agony; after this they shrivelled up and became very hard, and they hung down before her like stones, causing her much pain both by day and by night. Her appeal to physicians brought her no relief, and Celestinus cynically sums up his remarks about the professors of medicine with a quotation meaning that if they really do possess wisdom they keep it inside themselves. At length Kallientropia, hearing of the miracles wrought by Victor, went to the shrine of the saint, accompanied by her husband and brother, and on the night after her arrival Victor appeared to her, and told her to anoint her breasts with the oil from the lamp in the sanc-

tuary. The next morning she asked the presbyter who had charge of the lamp to give her some oil, and when he had done so and she rubbed her breasts therewith, the devil in the form of a gryphon leaped out of them, like a flash of fire. Her breasts immediately resumed their natural shape, and she was healed, and as a mark of her gratitude she made many splendid gifts to the martyrrium.

When the Emperor Honorius heard of his sister's cure, he paid great honour to Victor, and he began to rebuild the apse of his church, and to decorate the woodwork with gold. Whilst one of the men was working on a scaffold at a considerable height from the ground, the Devil, who hated to see Victor's shrine made beautiful, smote the workman with some object which he had in his hand, and he began to fall to the ground. But before he reached it, and whilst he was still about five feet from the pavement, Victor suddenly appeared, and, seizing the workman's hand, held him suspended in the air, and then he took him up and set him by the side of his fellow workmen.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the workman declared that the devil was in the form of a huge creature, with outspread wings and eyes of fire.

Again, a certain patrician was stricken with a disease, which made his body to swell and to become as large as a pillar, and sometimes the skin of his feet would burst and discharge pus freely. Physicians of all kinds attempted to cure him, but they failed to do so, and even the Archiactors of Rome, who were sent to him with special instructions from the Emperors, were powerless to afford him relief. At length the patrician was carried into the martyrrium of Victor, where he prayed to be made whole. On the night after his arrival the saint appeared to him in a dream, and laying upon the body of the sick man the rod which was in his hand, he promised to cure him that very day. On hearing these words

<sup>1</sup> This story is well known, and is usually told of the Virgin Mary and a certain painter. See my *Miracles of the Virgin*, London, 1900, p. 36.

the patient suddenly felt great relief, for his swollen body discharged such a mass of pus that his bed was filled therewith. He recovered from his sickness, and ascribed glory to God, and gave rich gifts to the martyrrium.

Now if I were to spend all my time in relating the miracles of Victor, I should never reach the end of them, and I should never be able to describe adequately the honour, and glory, and power of the saint. Wherever there is a martyrrium built in his name there do wonders of healing abound. You must not imagine that Victor's power of working miracles is confined to his shrine in Antioch, for his power to heal pervadeth every part of the world. In order to make this quite clear I will relate to you the case of the sick general who lived in Rome. This man was sixty years of age, and he suffered greatly from some kind of internal growth; as in all the other cases which I have quoted the physicians received their fees, but gave him no relief. At length he made a voyage to Antioch, and entering into the martyrrium of Victor, he remained there for two days, but experienced no relaxation of his pain. On the night of the third day he felt a little relief, and Victor appeared to him, and told him to go back to Rome, and to drink some of the water which he would find in the vessel in the chamber of the altar of sacrifice. Victor then asked him why he had taken the trouble to come to Antioch, and why he did not go to his martyrrium in Rome. He went on to tell the sick man that his power was as effective in Rome as in Antioch, and that if he did not go back and seek it in his martyrrium in Rome he would never be healed. In the morning the sick man, having given rich gifts to the shrine, re-embarked and sailed back to Rome, and went at once to the martyrrium of Victor, which had only been recently built in that city, and drank water from the sanctuary as he had been ordered. His pain was at once relieved, and he lay down on his bed and slept the whole night. At dawn Victor appeared

to the sick man, and explained to him that it was he who had appeared to him in Antioch, and repeating what he had told him there as to the all-pervading character of his power of healing, he promised to cure him of his disease. When the morning came the sick man found that the growth inside him had burst, and he therefore recovered immediately.

Ye see, beloved, how great are the miracles which are wrought by Victor in all his shrines, and we must believe in them, for if we do not they will be useless to us, and our unbelief will cause our own condemnation. But I will not waste time, and I will now tell you of another miracle of Victor's. A very rich nobleman of this city, called Anastasius, was smitten with elephantiasis when he was one hundred years old, and his body, which was as white as snow, became covered with spots, like a leopard's. He went into the shrine of Victor, and remained there for two days praying to be healed. Whilst he was there a man was brought in who was suffering from granulation of the eyes and was blind, and he was laid upon a bed near that of Anastasius. That night Saint Victor appeared to Anastasius, and told him that if he took the blind man by the hand, and the two of them went and dipped themselves three times in water drawn from the pool by the door of the martyrrium, in the Name of the Trinity, they should be healed. In the morning Anastasius wished to take the blind man to the pool, but he objected, saying that the physicians had told him not to let water touch his head. Anastasius persisted, and at length the blind man agreed to go with him; and when he had filled a large bath with water from the pool, and they had dipped themselves in it three times, once in the Name of each Person of the Trinity, Anastasius was cured of his disease, and the blind man received his sight. Of this miracle Celestinus says he was an eyewitness.

Saint Victor also displayed his power in other very remarkable ways, and Celestinus quotes the following example. On

one occasion, when Constantine and his nobles were gathered together in the church of Saint Victor to celebrate the Eucharist, a messenger called Roumentros arrived from the Eparch of the Frontier, asking the Emperor to dispatch troops at once to resist an invasion of the Barbarians. The Emperor sent back a message to the Eparch telling him that he would come with troops on the morrow, and then he and his nobles prayed to Victor for deliverance until the tenth hour of the day. When the Archbishop had pronounced the benediction, and the congregation was about to disperse, another messenger arrived saying that the enemy had slain each other, and that the Eparch had collected much spoil, which was then on its way to the Emperor. Constantine began to pray at the second hour of the day, and in that very hour Victor destroyed the Barbarians!

Celestinus next exhorts his hearers to make themselves acceptable to Saint Victor by leading good and holy lives, and to remember that we are pilgrims and strangers upon the earth, and that death may come upon us at any moment. This being so, how foolish it is of men to heap up riches, and to put their confidence in hoards of gold and silver! Your wealth is given you so that you may enjoy this world and the next, but if the possessors of wealth allow Satan to prevent them from giving to the poor, their reward in the next world will be never-ending punishment, instead of bliss. You can take nothing away with you when you leave this world: why then lay up treasure uselessly? Take my advice: Redeem your sins by charity, and let alms to the poor wipe out your offences. Thus ye will enjoy the imperishable riches of heaven for ever. If you were going to meet a king of this world you would send on gifts before you; how much more then ought you to send on gifts to the King of the Universe, that Awful and Terrible God! Remember your last hours, when you lie dying on your beds, and your feverish eyes look out of sunken sockets and see the Powers,

with their terrifying faces, which have come to carry away your souls ! And think what an awful thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God ! What good will your riches be to you then ?

Man's life is a thing of naught, and especially if the life be that of the sinner. If he be rich, how do his riches help him ? Tell me, O rich man, what rest dost thou find in thy riches ? All thy time is occupied with business, i.e. in lending money or in buying and selling, and thou hast just as much anxiety as the man who lacketh bread. Thy life is one long grief. Whilst thou art building houses, and sailing merchant ships, and oppressing the poor, and robbing the widows, thy life is slipping away, and at last thou must depart and leave thy houses, cattle-sheds, barns, vineyards, and ships behind thee ! For the sinner there is only suffering and sorrow in this world (even if he live one hundred years therein), and in the next. [This argument is elaborated by Celestinus, who quotes an interesting passage from a Discourse by St. Athanasius on the Soul and Body.] When the Executioners (i.e. an order of Angels), with their eyes shooting out fire, seize thy soul, O sinner, and carry it off to Amente, where wilt thou find rest ? There thou wilt see all the poor whom thou hast robbed, and all thy false oaths, and murders, and sins shall stand up before thee, in visible forms, and the Judge shall cry out, 'Cast him into the outer darkness.' Thou canst only escape this doom by repenting and giving alms.

I have addressed you at great length, beloved, but it is for the good of your souls, and the tears which ye are shedding shall become unto you as fountains of salvation. I should never have attempted to sadden you in this wise, only my mind was carried away, and I saw Saint Victor standing before me, and he told me to speak to you for the welfare of your souls. 'Save their souls,' said he, 'on the day of my commemoration, and their repentance will please me more than ten thousand encomiums.' So I have spoken unto you,

my sons and my daughters, and I ask you to give gifts to the saint this day, so that they may go on in advance of you, and cause him to make supplication to the True Shepherd on our behalf. But I am so carried away by my interest in you that I am almost forgetting the miracles of Saint Victor about which I wish to speak, and indeed I am like unto a man who hath tried to swim across an arm of the sea or a large river, but who, owing to his insufficient strength, hath been overwhelmed by the waves and sucked under them by the current. I will, however, change the subject of my discourse, and will relate to you a few out of the many miracles which have taken place in this martyrdom, and which I have seen with my own eyes. There was a certain rich man in this city who presented a very large quantity of wine annually to the shrine of Saint Victor; one part of the wine was used sacramentally, and the other was given to the sick. God blessed the possessions of this man, and the man took care to devote to Saint Victor a due proportion of his increasing wealth. At length the man fell ill of a mortal disease, and before he died he called his son to him, and told him to continue, and even to increase, the family contribution to Saint Victor's shrine. This the son promised to do, but as soon as he became owner of the whole of his father's property he failed to carry out his promise. The grape harvest was abundant, but he cut off the annual wine-offering to the sanctuary, and ordered all the wine that was made to be stored until the arrival of the merchants from Palestine. In due course the merchants came with money in their hands to make purchases freely, but when they sampled the wine put before them they found it worthless, and declined to buy any. They were surprised at its poor quality, and could not understand what had happened to it. So they took their money back and departed to their own country, leaving the man sad and dejected.

Then the man began to realize that it was the displeasure



of Saint Victor, which was provoked by his avarice, that had made the wine go bad, and one night the saint appeared to him and told him that he had destroyed the wine because his customary offering had been withdrawn. And he went on to tell him that he would have destroyed him and his vineyard utterly, had he not held in remembrance the righteousness of his father. When the man heard the rebuke of Saint Victor he entreated him to forgive him, and promised to give one-half of his goods to his shrine that very year. Saint Victor pardoned the man, and promised to restore his wine to its normal excellence, and on the following morning, when the man went to his wine-cellar, he found that his wine was sound and good. The man paid the vows which he had vowed, and became a truly religious and generous man. After further exhortations to his hearers to lead a pure and holy life, Celestinus says that he must bring his discourse to an end, for it is now time to begin the service of the Holy Offering. He admits that his remarks have been perhaps unduly long, and excuses himself on the ground that his audience was thirsting for the waters of the Word of God, and for information about the mighty deeds of Saint Victor.

### 3. THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF EUSTATHIUS AND OF THEOPISTÊ.

According to the Coptic text herein published, Eustathius was one of the Generals of the Emperor Trajan, and he suffered martyrdom, together with his wife and their two sons, in Rome, on the twentieth day of the month Thoth (September 17). He is undoubtedly the Eustachius who was called 'Placidus' before his conversion to Christianity, and who, according to some authorities,<sup>1</sup> suffered martyrdom under Hadrian A. D. 118. He is commemorated by the Greek Church on September 20 and by the Latin Church on November 2. Plakêtas, or Placidus, was a member of

<sup>1</sup> See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ii. 226.

a rich and powerful family, and was a kinsman of the Emperor; he was of Greek descent. He was kind to all men, and generous to the poor, and although he spent much money in ransoming those who had been condemned to death, he was not a Christian. His wife was adorned with every virtue in the same degree as her husband, but she was an idolater, and their two sons were brought up to emulate the good works of their parents. Placidus was a great hunter and a bold and fearless warrior, and the Barbarians trembled at the mere mention of his name. One day he went out to hunt, accompanied by his soldiers and slaves, and he saw a herd of deer feeding, and ordered his followers to give chase. Suddenly a magnificent stag separated itself from the herd, and fled for safety to a dense thicket on the mountain. Placidus and some of his followers gave chase, but the soldiers were exhausted long before the thicket was reached, and Placidus rode into it alone, and after several hours brought the animal to bay on a high hill. Whilst he stood looking at the stag, and wondering how he could net him, there suddenly appeared a cross of brilliant light between the horns of the animal,<sup>1</sup> and a figure of the body of Christ. And a voice of a man cried out to Placidus, saying, 'Why dost thou hunt Me?' The voice went on to say that the Speaker was Jesus, Who wished Placidus to become His servant, and to receive baptism at the hands of the high priest of the Christians. When Placidus had been baptized he was to return to the thicket in the mountain, where Christ would appear to him and declare to him the mystery of salvation.

Placidus went down the mountain, and returned to his wife, and told her of his vision, and as she had also received a miraculous communication from our Lord, she was ready to

<sup>1</sup> A similar story is told by the writers of the legendary history of St. Hubert, the first bishop of Liège, who died about 727, and was regarded for several centuries as the patron saint of huntsmen. See *Acts SS.*, Nov. 3; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 3; and de Smedt, *Vie de St. Hubert*, Brussels, 1878, No. 3.

take her sons and to go with her husband to be baptized. They left their house secretly at midnight, with a few slaves, and went to the high priest, and told him all that had happened unto them. Then the high priest catechized them, and baptized them in the Name of the Holy Trinity, and administered to them the Eucharist, and gave them new names : to Placidus he gave the name of Eustathius, to his wife the name of Theopistê, and their two sons he called Agapius and Theopistus respectively. Next morning Eustathius returned to the mountain, and when he had dismissed his escort he went to the place in the thicket where he had seen the cross of light and heard the voice, and when he had prayed for direction and guidance the Lord answered and told him that he would have to endure much tribulation, and that he would eventually suffer martyrdom. In reply to his prayer for strength to endure, the Lord commanded him to fight, and promised that His Grace should protect him. Eustathius then returned to his house, and told his wife all that had happened to him.

Very soon after this the tribulations which Christ had foretold began to attack Eustathius. First of all, the plague broke out in his house, and all his slaves died ; and next his sheep, cattle, and horses all died. Eustathius and his family then removed to another house temporarily, and whilst they were there thieves entered their old home and stripped it bare, and thus Eustathius was reduced to absolute want. When the Emperor and his nobles heard what had happened they were very sorry, but no one held out a hand to assist Eustathius in his need. When Theopistê saw that their case was desperate, she urged her husband to leave the neighbourhood in which they had become a laughing-stock. That same night they took their sons, and departed, and set out for the sea-coast, where they found a ship about to sail for Egypt. On this they embarked, and when it arrived at its destination Eustathius had no money to pay their fare before landing.

On the voyage the captain of the ship had cast his eyes upon Theopistê, and seeing that she was beautiful, fell in love with her, and told Eustathius that he and his two sons might leave the ship, and that he would keep Theopistê in lieu of the fare for the whole family which Eustathius owed him. Eustathius protested violently at this arrangement, and made himself so troublesome that the captain told the sailors to heave him overboard. When Eustathius discovered this he was obliged to submit, and taking his two sons he left the ship. After marching with them for some time he came to a river that had been flooded by the recent rains, and he wished to swim across it. Leaving one son on the bank, he placed the other on his neck, and started to swim across with him; when he reached the opposite bank, he deposited his son there, and swam back to fetch the other son. Whilst he was swimming back he lifted up his eyes, and saw that a lion had seized the one son, and was dragging him off to his lair; but he consoled himself, thinking that he still had one son left. When, however, he lifted up his eyes again, he saw that the other son was being carried away by a wolf. In his despair Eustathius was about to drown himself, but this God did not permit. Meanwhile Providence took care of the boys, for some shepherds pursued the lion that was carrying off the one child, and made the beast drop him, and some ploughmen followed the wolf, and took away the other, neither child being in the least degree injured. As the shepherds and the ploughmen lived in the same village, they took the children there, and they grew up in the same place.

In deep dejection Eustathius moved about the country from place to place, and at length he obtained work in a village called Bassos, where he earned his daily bread. After a time the chiefs of the village made him watchman of the village orchards, and he held this post for ten years, and received his wages. Meanwhile his two sons were being brought up in the village, neither knowing the identity of the other.

And their father did not know that they were his sons. During this long period Eustathius had no news of his wife, whom the captain of the ship had carried off to his own country, and there, under God's protection, she preserved her chastity. When the captain died Theopistê decided to remain where she was. Some time after this the people of the country rebelled, and invaded the territory of the Romans, and Trajan was in sore need of the assistance of Eustathius his old general. One day, when he felt his absence deeply, he promised to promote to great honour the man who should give him such information as would lead to the discovery of Eustathius, and to appoint him a yearly salary. Hearing these words two soldiers, called Antiochus and Acacius, who had been servants of Eustathius, made up their minds to earn these rewards, and they searched all the country carefully to find him. Their travels brought them to the village where Eustathius was, and he at once recognized them by their peculiar carriage and gait; but they did not know him. In due course they came up to him and asked him if he knew where Eustathius and his wife and sons were, and promised to pay him for any information about them which he could give them. In reply Eustathius invited them to his house, and then went and brought some food and wine to give them. Whilst they were eating and drinking they looked at their host carefully, and at length they came to the conclusion that he resembled Eustathius closely. They remembered that their master had on his neck the scar of an old wound received in battle, and determined to take an opportunity of looking for it. Presently they saw the scar, and rushing at Eustathius they kissed him, and rejoiced in the discovery of their former master.

Antiochus and Acacius reported their success to the Emperor, and set out with Eustathius to journey to the place where Trajan was. Fifteen days later they marched into the presence of Trajan, who kissed Eustathius, and listened to his history,

and then restored him to his military rank. Trajan entrusted the formation of an army to fight the Barbarians to Eustathius, who sent out an edict ordering his officers in every town to enlist recruits. Among the recruits drafted to him Eustathius found his own two sons, and finding them well-mannered and well-conducted he took them into his personal service, and he liked them very much, and they ate at his own table. When the army was ready Eustathius set out to do battle with the Barbarians beyond a river called Hydaspes, and when he had conquered them, and had laid waste the whole country, Providence led him back through the district wherein his wife Theopistê had taken up her abode in a small house situated in a garden. There he rested for three days, and his two lieutenants, who were in reality his sons, were quartered on Theopistê. One day Theopistê heard them talking together in her garden, and she heard one of them telling the other how he had been carried off by a lion into the desert when he was a child. When the other heard this story he leaped up and claimed him as his brother, saying that the shepherds who had saved him from the claws of a wolf had told him the story. As Theopistê heard the story being told she felt that the two young men were her sons, and she was greatly moved. On the following day she obtained an audience of the General, and as a Roman matron asked him to assist her to return to her native land. Whilst she was talking to him she recognized him as her long-lost husband, and threw herself down before him and begged him to declare himself. Eustathius rose up, and embraced her, and they thanked God for their reunion. Theopistê then told Eustathius about the two young men in her garden, and when he questioned them he found that they were indeed his sons, and thus the whole family were once more united. And when the conquest of the Barbarians was ended they collected much spoil and returned to their native land with very many prisoners and captives.

Whilst Eustathius and his family were returning Trajan died, and was succeeded by Hadrian. On returning to Rome, Hadrian, who had gone out to meet Eustathius, invited him to go into the temple of Apollo and offer up sacrifice. This Eustathius refused to do, and when the Emperor heard him proclaim the sovereignty of Christ, and his devotion to His service, he was filled with wrath, and cast him out of his presence. When Hadrian saw that Eustathius and his family were unmoved by his wrath and threats, he ordered them to be taken to the stadium and given to the lions. When this had been done, the mighty lion that had been brought to devour them advanced to Eustathius, and knelt down and placed his head on the ground and worshipped him; having done this, the beast rose up and walked out of the stadium. Hadrian then ordered Eustathius and Theopistê and their sons to be burned alive in a brazen bull, and they were thrown into one, and their bodies were left there for three days. By the Emperor's orders they were then brought out from the bull, and they were found to be in a perfect state of preservation. In the evening the Christians came and carried away the bodies and buried them secretly in Rome, and when the persecution was ended they built a martyrium over them, and they commemorated these martyrs on the twentieth day of the month of Thoth, which is here identified with the Roman month of December.

#### 4. THE LIFE OF APA CYRUS.

The Life of Apa Cyrus is attributed to Pambo, the presbyter of the famous church at Scete. Soon after Pambo had provided for the preservation of the body of Princess Hilaria,<sup>1</sup> a daughter of the Emperor Zeno, he saw a vision, and in it heard a voice telling him to go to the desert on the sea-coast, and seek out the anchorite, the latchets of whose

<sup>1</sup> Her wonderful healing powers are described in the Ethiopic *Synaxarium*; see Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 660, Month Ter, day 21 (Fol. 133 b, col. 2 ff.)

shoes no man was worthy to unloose. Thereupon Pambo rose up and went into the desert, and after marching for some time he arrived at a monk's cell, and having cried out 'Bless me' three times, according to the custom of the monks, was told to enter. There he found Apa Hierax, who had been living there for eighteen years on dates. Having found from him that there were monks living still further in the desert, Pambo departed, and in due course came to the habitation of Pamoun, who was wearing a tattered garment, the original colour of which had faded in patches. Seeing this garment Pambo made some kind of jocular remark, the exact sense of which is not clear to me, and Pamoun replied that the garment had served him for clothing during both winter and summer for twenty years, and that it would be large enough to serve as his shroud. Pambo, learning from Pamoun that a very holy brother lived yet further in the desert, set out to visit him, and when he had journeyed about a mile the same angel who carried the prophet Habakkuk to Babylon lifted him up and carried him to that brother's cell. In answer to Pambo's knock a voice bade him enter, and as he went in he saw that brother roll to the door of his cell without difficulty a stone which twelve men were trying to move. When Pambo asked the brother his name he said that it was Cyrus, and that he was the brother of the Emperor Theodosius, and that, seeing all society had become utterly corrupt, he had forsaken the world and retired into the desert. Pambo asked him if there was any brother living beyond him in the desert, and he replied that there was nothing in the desert beyond him except darkness and lasting punishments. Pambo seems to have wished to leave him, but Cyrus told him to sit down and that he should see wonders. At dawn on the following Sunday morning Pambo heard voices, and felt the mountain crumbling under him, but Cyrus bade him not to be afraid. Whilst they were talking the door of the cell opened of its own accord, and Christ, in the form of a



man, went up to Cyrus and kissed him, mouth to mouth. Cyrus then told Pambo that Apa Shenoute had died that day, though how he obtained his information is not clear, and he asked Pambo to pray for him, for he felt that he was going to die. On the following day Cyrus died, and whilst Pambo was weeping over him Christ opened the door of the cell, and came in and stood by the body and wept over it. When Christ left the cell multitudes of angels came and stood there, and one of them, Peter Bar-iôna, informed Pambo that Christ had taken the souls of Cyrus and Shenoute to heaven. A little later, whilst Pambo was wondering how he should dispose of Cyrus's body, Christ returned to the cell and took it away with Him. When the Saviour had gone up into heaven, Pambo returned to the monks Pamoun and Hierax, and told them all that he had seen, and then he returned to Scete, and wrote down the narrative described above, and placed it in the church there for the use of the monks.

5. THE ENCOMIUM OF FLAVIANUS ON DEMETRIUS,  
PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

If material foods which are produced by God's rain make gladness in men, how much more should the fruits of the Spirit give us pleasure and joy. Harken unto me, and I will describe the fruits of the Spirit, and I will at the same time *attempt to declare unto you a little of the history of the glorious saint, who was filled with the fruits of the Spirit, and whose festival we are commemorating this day.* Be it known to you that he was arrayed in virginity and also in holy matrimony, which are the foundations of true virtue. Some one among my hearers may say that a man cannot become a virgin after he hath married a wife, but Scripture saith that some men are born eunuchs, and others make themselves to be so, and, in my opinion, the latter class deserveth the greater praise. It is absurd to compare David's fight with Goliath, or with the lion, or with the bear, with

the fight of the man who trieth to subdue his own lusts. When Goliath was once killed he gave David no further trouble, and it was the same in the case of the lion and the bear. But with the man who is fighting against his lusts, he must struggle every day and all day. Coming now to the subject of our Encomium, I mean Demetrius, Patriarch of Alexandria, we may note that he was descended from an old and famous Alexandrian family. During the troubled times that followed the death of his predecessor, the patriarchal throne remained empty for some years, but at length the Christians of Alexandria determined to elect a Patriarch, and their choice fell upon Demetrius, who was a second Joseph, and whom they elected unanimously. Inasmuch as Demetrius had a wife you may object to my comparing him with Joseph, and though I can give good reason for doing so, I admit that, as he was elected a bishop, he ought not to have had a wife living with him. According to the Canons of the Apostles there was no need for him to put away his wife, but things which are lawful are not always expedient. In spite of his numerous virtues, and the excellent example of his life on the Alexandrian Church, many captious folk objected to his wife being with him, and they wished him to put her away. One night the Angel of the Lord appeared to him, and told him that the relations which existed between himself and his wife must be explained to the congregation, and he told him to make the explanation to the people after celebrating the Eucharist on the following day, which was Pentecost.

When it was day, and the Eucharist was ended, he told the archdeacon not to allow any member of the congregation to leave the church, and to ask each of them to meet him in the Chapter House. When the people had assembled there, and taken their seats, Demetrius prayed, and then, having obtained their permission for his wife to join them, he sent one of his men to bring her. When she had come into the chamber, Demetrius lighted a fire, and took up several pieces

of blazing wood and dropped them into the hollow in his garments between his legs, and the onlookers marvelled that his apparel did not catch fire. Then he transferred the blazing fire to his wife's garments, which did not catch fire, and she herself remained unharmed. Both Demetrius and his wife had successfully fought against the lust of the body, and they were therefore not burnt. When the congregation asked Demetrius what these acts symbolized, he narrated his history to them. His wife lost her father when she was a little girl, and his father brought her to his own house, where she was brought up. When Demetrius was fifteen years of age his father betrothed the girl to him, and shortly after they were married, but the marriage was never consummated, and up to the time when Demetrius was speaking both husband and wife were virgins. When the men in the Chapter House heard these things they threw themselves at the Patriarch's feet, and declared him to be the 'most noble of all created beings'.

I will now relate to you a few facts about another Patriarch of Alexandria, who was called Peter, and who was at one time an officer of Diocletian. In his time there lived in Antioch a man called Zôkratôr, who had a wife called Marturia, and two sons, whose names were Philopatôr and Eutropius. Zôkratôr was a baptized Christian, but he had apostatized, and objected to his sons being baptized. When Marturia found her arguments useless, she rose up, and took her two boys, and embarked on a ship about to sail for Alexandria. Soon after they sailed a violent storm arose, and Marturia, fearing that her boys would be drowned unbaptized, made a cut in one of her breasts, and drew out three drops of blood, and made the Sign of the Cross with them upon their foreheads and breasts, in the Name of the Holy Trinity. When God saw her faith, He stilled the storm and brought the ship in safety to Alexandria. When Marturia arrived there she found the city decorated and draped in

white, and when she asked the reason they told her that all the Christian children were going to be baptized on the following day. Then she went to a certain deacon, and asked him to arrange an interview for her with the Patriarch, so that her boys might be baptized. The deacon told her that a special interview was unnecessary, and that if she took them to the church on the morrow the Patriarch would baptize them in the ordinary way. On the following day she presented her children, but when the Patriarch began to baptize them the water in the font turned to stone; three attempts he made to baptize them, and three times the water turned to stone. Peter then sent for Marturia, and she told him her story, and when he had heard it he decided that it was the Lord Himself Who had baptized her children in the sea.

When she returned to Antioch, Zôkratôr, her husband, accused her of having committed adultery in Alexandria, and appealed to the Emperor to avenge his cause. When Diocletian heard that she had been with Peter he was furious, because he had never forgotten the homily which the Patriarch had preached him on the folly of worshipping idols. And he sent a tribune and soldiers straightway to behead him, and they did so. Then turning to Marturia, the Emperor asked her if she had committed fornication with the Christians, and when she denied that the Christians sinned in this way, and refused to describe what took place in the church at Alexandria, he ordered his soldiers to bind her hands and feet, and to lift her two boys on to her body, and then to burn all three. And with this incident I must bring my Encomium to an end.

## 6. THE ASKÊTIKON OF APA EPHRAIM.

There is nothing in the text of this work that enables us to fix the identity of the writer. It is clear from several of his remarks that he was not a young man when he wrote his Askêtikon, and that he belonged to the earlier school of

solitaries, or anchorites, who lived the strictest possible lives of ascetic excellence. He says: My sufferings and grief urge me to speak, and my unworthiness and sins urge me to keep silence; but I must have relief, so I will speak. When I consider our state of sinful ignorance I could weep day and night, and we are so puffed up with pride that we do not understand our peril. Abundant light and guidance are to be obtained from the lives and teachings of the saints of old, and what man is there who is not improved by the contemplation of their meekness, self-denial, and holiness? But we have abandoned the old straight paths for ways of pain, and no man is willing to suffer for God's sake. We have no right feeling, we are wrathful, lazy, slothful, envious, proud, arrogant, and we are lovers of dress, and vainglory, and personal comfort. Our disciples want to teach the law before they have learned it, and to pose as deeply learned before they have learned the alphabet! They want to rule others before they have learned to rule themselves. A disciple of means expecteth to be treated with special consideration, and the poor man in entering the monastic life is seeking a life of laziness. We are careless and self-satisfied, and we should continue to be so even if earthquakes were to rend the earth, or the Persians were to invade our country and lay it waste. Let us repent, and fast, and keep vigil, and walk in truth, but do not let us rush into frantic extremes of feeling. It is useless to wear coarse sackcloth to-day if we seek for a shirt made of byssus to-morrow, and to sleep on the ground to-day, but to-morrow on some bed which is piled high upon cushions. Let moderation be your guide, and set bounds to your ascetic practices, and persevere to maintain uniformity in the excellence of your conduct. Let us emulate the saints of old, and copy their perseverance and moderation, and their fixity of purpose in good works and in ascetic labours. Moreover, we must be prepared for the coming of the great and awful day of the Lord, for it is drawing nigh, and when the

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wickedness of Antichrist is completed, and the Roman Empire at an end, what is written shall be fulfilled. If you wish to escape from the fire of Gehenna, fight, keep vigil, be sober, watch, and keep your lamps burning and oil in your flasks.

Above all repent, and hearken to the words of the Lord. We are spiritual merchants, therefore let us buy the Precious Stone, the Pearl, that is, Christ Jesus. Know ye not that we are branches of the Vine, Christ? Take heed that ye bear fruit, for the branches which have no fruit on them will be lopped off and burnt. Our harvest is nearly ripe, and the reapers are getting ready; let us take heed that there are no tares among our corn. We are all bound to sail over the sea of terror, whereon are the winds which blow us into the Valley of Judgement, and the Judgement of God is an awful thing. All kinds of vices and sins flourish among us because the love of God is not in us, and we have no concern for His Glory. Our mouth is always open, we never cease to chatter, and words, good or bad, we pour out incessantly; if we go on in this way the garb of the monk will not benefit us in any way. Trust not, O monk, in thy garb, for it shall not save thee. Do not attempt to excuse yourselves by saying that the passions of the body are merely the operations of the functions of nature, and that the man who gratifies them is blameless. And be careful that you do not become your own accusers. I tell you that it is the unnatural and excessive use of the functions of the body which tendeth to sin. The man who eateth to satisfy his hunger, or drinketh to quench his thirst, is blameless, but the glutton and the swiller are abominable. Associated with the sight of the eye is the thought of lust or evil, but if by the act of deliberate choice we stablish the evil habit of lusting with the eyes, great will be our condemnation before the Husbandman of the True Vine, that is to say, the Christ. Evil thoughts result in evil habits, which will become stablished in the man who forsakes the Law-giver. Repent,

I say, and weep, and then the Law-giver shall eradicate these habits from thy mind and body.

We must, moreover, ascribe glory to God for His love to us, and for the compassion which He hath shewn us, for He hath redeemed us. Think of all He hath done for us, and yet a hand made of mud, and dust, and ashes dared to thrust itself in the Face of Christ, Who made the heavens and the earth! We are invited to an inheritance in heaven, and yet we think wholly about the things of earth! What shall we say to the Judge at the last day when He remindeth us of what He did for us? We shall stand before Him with millions of angels about us, and we shall not be able to lie then. Wake up! Prepare for the Judgement! Cease to care for things material, and devote thyself to the consideration of the gifts of vigil, and prayer, and fasting, which thou shouldst send on before thee to the Judge. What is the good of saying 'I have died to the world', when thy mind is continually running on the things of the world? Death shall come upon thee suddenly, and dost thou think to cajole him to let thee remain on the earth? But hearken to me, and be wise; of the lightest word account must be rendered in the Day of Judgement. Woe be to the careless monk! I tremble and weep when I see with my mind's eye the Paradise of Joy, and the fiery furnace of Gehenna, and the examination before the throne of Christ. I entreat you, brethren, to weep before Him day and night, with prayers and psalms, so that we may avoid the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth, and the sleepless worm, and may attain to the fullness of the sweetness of righteousness, and to the Paradise of God for ever.

#### 7. EPISTLE OF EPHRAIM TO A BELOVED DISCIPLE.

When thou wouldst answer, O my beloved, set humility on thy mouth, for it is the greatest of all the ascetic virtues, and no passion can harm the man that is humble. Hold thy peace

until thou art questioned, and then speak humbly and simply ; be not troubled, but if the question be too hard for thee to answer sit down. Join not in belittling a man, but listen well to every word that hath profit in it. Learn the rules of the monastic life, and settle down in one place, and do not change thy abode in the desert frequently. Make not friends with a restless man, and avoid being talked about. Let thy chief aim be to learn, and obedience will give thee rest. As for the rules of life for the monk, these are they : (1) Eat with the brethren. (2) Lift not thy face whilst eating. Eat in thine ordinary attire. (3) Be patient ; expect not to be served first. (4) When thou drinkest make not a gurgling in thy throat like a layman. (5) Spit not in the presence of the brethren. (6) In sleeping let thy body be a distance of one cubit from thy neighbour. Thou art young, therefore sleep not on a mat. (7) Sleep not lying on thy back. (8) Walk apart from the brethren. (9) Walk barefoot with the man who hath no sandals. (10) Preach and toil diligently in thy cell. (11) Eat not before sunset. (12) Kindle not a fire for thine own use only. (13) Visit thy sick brother twice daily. (14) When a brother dieth go and weep over his body until it is buried.

Besides these things remember always death and the punishments that are to follow it. If a brother visit thee entreat him kindly. Set water for his feet, give him opportunity to pray, and salute his hands and feet. Do not importune him with questions, and seek not to pry into his business. If he offereth thee food, eat it, even though thou art fasting. Strive to make him give thee a threefold blessing. The Epistle concludes with a statement of the 'Faith of the Catholic Church', which the writer urges the disciple to keep.



8. THE LIFE OF JOHN OF THE GOLDEN EVANGELIARIUM.<sup>1</sup>

John was the son of a very rich Roman nobleman called Eutropius<sup>2</sup> by his wife Theodora,<sup>3</sup> and was one of three brothers. Two of these obtained appointments in the Imperial Palace, but John was sent by his father to study the Christian Doctrine and the Holy Scriptures under the guidance of devout men. One day a monk from a monastery<sup>4</sup> in the south, who was on his way to worship at Jerusalem, met John in his house, and talked with him, and his words impressed John so deeply that he begged the monk, on his return from Jerusalem, to take him to the monastery to which he belonged. This the monk agreed to do, and he made a solemn compact with John to return to him. When the monk had departed John went to his mother and told her that of all the youths who were studying the Scriptures in his school, or college, he was the only one who did not possess a golden Evangeliarium; and throwing himself on his face before her he begged her to give him one. Later in the day his mother Theodora told her husband about John's request, and Eutropius at once ordered a Gospel to be beautifully written, and, when it was finished, he gave it, together with valuable gems and money, to a cunning worker in metals and precious stones, who produced a splendid book. Eutropius gave John the Gospel, and he studied it with great zeal.

In due course the monk returned from Jerusalem, and John rejoiced greatly. And they went secretly to the harbour, and having found a ship which was about to sail to the country near the 'Monastery of the Sleepless Ones', John bargained with the captain to take them as passengers for one hundred

<sup>1</sup> A brief account of the saint is given in the *Ethiopic Synaxarium* (Hamle 16); see Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 657, fol. 162 *a* ff. And see also the Ethiopic version of the Life of John of the Golden Gospel in Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 774, fol. 148 *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Eth. ከስኮፖፍስ;

<sup>3</sup> Eth. እንድርና;

<sup>4</sup> Eth. from Dabra Wark ደብረ ወርቅ;

oboli. John then returned to his house, and asked his mother to give him one hundred oboli, saying that he had partaken of the bounty of his comrades so often that he felt he could not return to the school, or college, unless he had money enough to make a feast for them in return. When Eutropius returned at noon, and heard of his son's demand for money, he was willing to give it to him, but stipulated that a servant should accompany him when he had the money to prevent him from squandering it. When John had taken the money he went with the servant to the monk, and asked him to allow the servant to remain with him while he went to keep an appointment with a certain person, i. e. the captain of the ship. The monk agreed, and John went to the captain's abode, and finding that the ship was wellnigh ready to sail, he paid the passage money for himself and the monk, and impressed upon the captain the urgent need for secrecy and dispatch. Two days later, John and the monk went down to the ship, and John, having succeeded in getting rid of his father's servant by lying, embarked with the monk and the ship sailed immediately. When the servant returned from the lying errand on which John had sent him, he found that the ship had gone, taking his master's son and his friend with it; and he returned to Eutropius and Theodora and told them his story. For seven days John's parents wept and mourned, and all the people shared in their grief, and when the Emperor heard of it he sent out soldiers to seek for John and to bring him back, but they were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile John and the monk had arrived at the monastery in the far country, and the Archimandrite, having learned the history of John from the monk, admitted him, and told him to wait forty days for the tonsure. Before the insistence of John the Archimandrite gave way, and on that very day John received the tonsure and the garb of the monk. For six years John led a most strenuous, ascetic life, and prayed, fasted, and kept vigil to an extent hitherto unknown

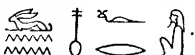
in that monastery. When the Archimandrite saw that his strength was beginning to fail, he warned him of the necessity of moderation; but his warning was unheeded. As John gradually became weaker in body, the Devil thrust into his mind at all times thoughts of home and parents, and the more these took possession of his mind, the more apathetic he became in respect of his ascetic exercises. At length homesickness compelled him to leave the monastery, and he went forth followed by the earnest prayers of the Archimandrite and all the monks. On his way home John met a ragged beggar, and he exchanged his monkish garb with him for his rags, and in these rags John marched along until at length he arrived in the city wherein his father lived, and he sat down by the porter's lodge. For a whole year he sat there, with the porter's permission, watching his father and mother come out and go in, and Eutropius sent food from his own table to John each day, not knowing that the beggar was his own son. One day when Theodora was coming out through the gateway she caught sight of John, whose body was covered with sores, and she vomited, and ordered him to be driven away by the servants. For a short time he departed, but he came back to the lodge, and persuaded the porter, who was evidently a kindly man, to prepare a little hut for him near the lodge. Here he lived for some years, and he fed those who were poorer than himself with the food which his father sent to him daily.

When ten years had passed Christ appeared to John in a vision, and told him that he would be taken from this world in three days' time. On the following day he made the porter go to Theodora, and tell her that the beggar wished to see her and to talk with her. Greatly against her will she did so, and after telling her of his gratitude for all the goodness which she and her husband had shewn him, he told her that he was going to die in three days, and made her swear to bury him in the rags in which he was then clothed. When

she had sworn an oath to this effect, John produced the golden Evangelarium and gave it to her. This she took to Eutropius, who at once recognized it as the book which had been made by his order for his son John. Then Eutropius and his wife went together and questioned the dying beggar, who revealed to them the fact that he was their son. They wept bitter tears when they heard his words, and as they threw themselves down by him John breathed his last breath. Forgetting the oath which she had sworn to him, when John was being made ready for burial, his mother stripped off his rags, and arrayed him in apparel befitting his station. At this an angel came and smote her feet, and caused her great pain, and it was only when his rags had been restored to John that her pains ceased. John was buried in the hut in which he had lived, and a martyrion was built over him.

## 9. THE LIFE OF APA ONNOPHRIOS,<sup>1</sup> THE ANCHORITE.

The story of Onnophrios is supposed to be related by Apa Pa[p]noute, i. e. Paphnutius, a famous anchorite who lived in the desert of Scete in the second half of the fourth century, and was surnamed 'Bubulus' and 'Cephala'.<sup>2</sup> Paphnutius frequently travelled in the more remote deserts, and visited the monks whom he found in them, and it is to him chiefly that we owe our knowledge of the anchorites who lived like beasts among beasts. On one of his desert journeys after travelling for several days he came to the abode of a monk, and when he entered it he saw its owner, but he had been dead for a long time, and when Paphnutius touched the body it fell into dust. Having buried the bones Paphnutius

<sup>1</sup> A form of one of the most ancient and important titles of the god Osiris, Un-Nefer . For the life of Onnophrios see also Migne, *Vitae Patrum*, Patr. Lat., tom. lxxiii, p. 211 ff.; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 99; *Acta SS.*, June 12; on the monks who went naked see Palladius, *Paradise of the Fathers* (ed. Budge), i. 234 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Palladius (ed. Budge), i. 358.

travelled on, and finding another habitation of a monk he sat down there to await its owner's arrival. At sunset he saw a herd of buffaloes in the distance, and when the beasts came nearer, behold, there was the anchorite who was called Timothy in their midst. At first the anchorite thought that Paphnutius was a spirit, but having fortified himself by prayer, he at length led him into his abode, and related to him his history, thus: I was a monk in Thebaïs. I wanted to lead a solitary life, to work with my hands, and to spend the fruits of my labour in entertaining strangers. I left Thebaïs, and went into the desert, built myself a cell, and worked with my hands, and made some money. Among my employers was a certain young woman who came to buy my baskets, mats, and sandals, and a friendship sprang up between us, and we fell into sin. I lived with her for six months, and then, when I realized my iniquity, and the danger of everlasting punishment which I ran, I rose up and left her, and came here, and I have never seen her since. I live on the dates of this palm-tree, which produces twelve bunches each year, and I drink of the water of this spring. I have no clothes, and I want none, for my hair sufficeth. I never eat bread; there is none to eat. It is thirty years ago since I came here. When I first came here I suffered greatly from my liver, but one day a splendid being, in the form of a man, came and asked me where my pain was. When I told him, he cut open my side, took out my liver, and shewed it to me, pointing out the various parts of it that were diseased. Then he bound up the wounds in the liver, and replaced it in my body, closed the opening in my side, and said, 'Behold, thou art healed.' From that day to this I have had no pain in my liver. Paphnutius wished to dwell for some days with Timothy, but this the anchorite would not permit, and he blessed him and sent him on his way.

Continuing his journey into the desert Paphnutius, after travelling four days, saw a terrifying being in the form of a man, with his hair all over his body, like that of a panther,

and he was wearing a girdle of leaves. As this being advanced towards him, Paphnutius took refuge on a pinnacle of the mountain, fearing that the being was mad. When he reached the rock he threw himself on the ground in a state of great distress caused by hunger and thirst. When he saw Paphnutius in the mountain he called him to come down, and when he had done so the being turned out to be no other than the famous anchorite Onnophrios, who proceeded to relate his history. He lived at one time in a monastery in Shmûn (i. e. Eshmûnên) in Upper Egypt, but he had left it sixty years earlier, and had been living in the desert ever since. When he left the monastery he saw a shining being, and was about to retreat to the monastery, but the 'shining being' told him that he was the angel whom the Lord had appointed to guard him from his youth up, and that he would travel with him. After a journey of six or seven miles Onnophrios came to a cave, and the saint who dwelt in it invited him to enter, and taught him the rules of the ascetic life during the few days in which he stayed there. After this the saint took Onnophrios a journey of four days into the desert, and they came to a hut, and they took up their abode there; and when the saint had lived with Onnophrios for a month he departed, and Onnophrios never saw him again until the day he buried him.

In answer to further questions Onnophrios told Paphnutius that when he first went there he suffered greatly from cold by night, heat by day, and hunger and thirst at all times. When God saw that his body was wasting away, He sent an angel to feed him each evening, and he ate also dates and the herbs that grew in the desert. Once a week also an angel came and administered the Sacrament to him and to the other dwellers in the desert. After further talk Onnophrios invited Paphnutius to accompany him to another hut, or cell, two or three miles further on in the desert, and when they arrived there they prayed and talked; and each of them,

having eaten half a bread-cake and drunk a little water, passed the night in prayer. On the following morning Paphnutius saw that the face of Onnophrios was changed, and was greatly alarmed; but he understood the matter when Onnophrios told him that he was going to die shortly, and that God had sent him to bury his body. Onnophrios then went on to proclaim the blessings which Christ would bestow upon those who made offerings in his name, and having blessed Paphnutius with a most comprehensive blessing, he died on the sixteenth day of Paone (June 12). Paphnutius tore his cloak into two pieces, and in one of these he wrapped the body of Onnophrios for burial; and as he buried it in a cleft in the rock the voices of a multitude of angels were heard singing 'Alleluia'. As Paphnutius was praying a second time, the palm-tree which had supplied Onnophrios with dates fell down, and he marvelled greatly, and he drank what remained of the water, and ate the rest of the bread.

Being uncertain about his future proceedings Paphnutius prayed, and there appeared unto him straightway the man who had directed him on a former occasion, and who now invited him to eat bread. This man was one of a company of four ascetics who had been living in that remote desert for six years, and each day four bread-cakes had been supplied to them by miraculous means; on the day of the arrival of Paphnutius a fifth bread-cake appeared. Paphnutius stayed a night with them, and wanted to remain there for the rest of his life, but to this they would not agree; and they gave him their blessing and sent him on his way. After another journey of four days Paphnutius arrived at one of the Oases in the Western Desert, probably Khârgah, and he marvelled at the beautiful gardens and fruit-trees that he found there. Whilst he was wondering who planted the trees, four young men clad in skins appeared, and they welcomed him in stately dignity, and shewed him the greatest kindness during the

seven days which he remained with them. In answer to his questions they told him that they were natives of Oxyrhynchus, and the sons of magistrates of the town. They were all educated in the same school and college, and one day, when their studies were completed, they all set out for the desert, with the idea of finding out what fate the Lord had ordained for them. When they arrived there they were met by a man of God, who lived with them and taught them for a year; at the end of the year he died, but the party decided to continue to live there, and they had done so for sixty (or, six?) years. On the following Sunday the Angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and administered the Eucharist to Paphnutius and to his four hosts, and a day or so later Paphnutius left the Oasis, and they went with him for a distance of six miles to set him on his way. Before they bade him farewell they revealed to him their names—John, Andrew, Heraklamôn, and Theophilus. A journey of three days brought Paphnutius to Egypt, and he stayed with some brethren in Scete, and described to them all he had seen and heard. Then immediately these men wrote down what Apa Paphnutius had related to them in a book, which they deposited in the church of Scete for the use of the brethren.

10. DISCOURSE ON ABBATÔN,<sup>1</sup> THE ANGEL OF DEATH, BY  
TIMOTHY, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

The text of this curious and interesting apocryphon is incomplete, but the general drift of its contents is quite clear. Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, who sat from 380 to 385, pronounced a discourse on the thirteenth day of the month Hathor (November 9) on the history of the appointment of the Angel of Death, who was commonly known as Abbatôn. In this discourse he imparted to his hearers some

<sup>1</sup> i. e. אַבְדָּן 'Αβαδδών, or destruction personified. This was the Hebrew name of the Angel of the Abyss who is identified in the Apocalypse (ix. 11) with Ἀπολλύων.



information which he had obtained from a volume in the Library of the Apostles in Jerusalem. He visited Jerusalem in order to assist at the great festival of the Holy Cross, and he went into the martyrium of the Virgin Mary, which had been built in her honour in the Valley of Jehosaphat. He partook of the Sacrament there, and then, when the congregation had departed, he withdrew to the church, where he took up his abode. Whilst he was there an aged presbyter called John went to him, and invited him to come and live in his house, and Timothy removed there thankfully. On the following morning he was discussing the Crucifixion and the miracles of Christ with John, and he asked him if the 'Book of the appointing of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death', was to be found in the Library which was under his charge. Without hesitation the old presbyter found the book and brought it to Timothy, who, apparently, made a copy of the section in it which interested him. From this we learn that just before the Lord ascended into heaven He blessed His disciples and sent them forth into the world to preach His Resurrection, and to work miracles, and to baptize men, and He made Peter the Pillar of His Church. Thereupon Peter described the signal marks of favour and confidence which He had shewn to the disciples, and then reminded Him that the people to whom they were going to preach would ask them questions about many matters which they were unable to answer. Among these matters was the appointment of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death; Peter and the other disciples wished to know concerning him, and how and why he was appointed, for they wished to preach about him, as they did about Michael and Gabriel, to their congregations. In reply to Peter the Lord said that He would hide nothing from them, and said:

My Father created the heavens and the earth and all in them by the utterance of a word; in a similar manner He created animals, birds, reptiles, fish, &c., and also Paradise in the eastern part of the earth. Seeing that there was no one

on the earth to praise Him, God determined to make man. And He sent an angel to the Eastland to fetch virgin earth out of which He might make man ; but when he went there, and reached out his hand to take some earth, the earth cried out and swore by God that if any of it were made into a man it would commit many sins, and would at length be condemned to suffer never-ending punishment. Therefore the earth asked to be left where it was. When the angel heard the mention of God's Name he was afraid, and returned to God without the earth. Then God sent angel after angel, even seven of them, to bring earth to Him, but each was afraid, and each returned to Him empty-handed. At length he sent the Angel Mouriël down to bring Him some virgin earth, and as this angel was not terrified by the mighty Name whereby the earth swore, he took some earth in his hand, and carried it back to the Father, Who fashioned it into the form of a man. For forty days God left the body of Adam lying without putting the breath of life into it, for knowing what pains man must suffer He hesitated to do so. I said to My Father, ' Put breath into him, and I will be his Advocate.' My Father told Me that if He put breath into him it would be necessary for Me to go down into the world to redeem him, and to restore him to his primal state. This I agreed to do, and thereupon My Father breathed the breath of life into his nostrils, saying, ' Live ! Live ! Live !' So Adam became a living soul, and My Father gave him a crown and a sceptre, and set him upon a throne, and ordered all the angels to worship him. All the angels obeyed this command except one, and he was the leader of the heavenly host. Then My Father ordered the angels to cast this rebel down to the earth, but some of them hesitated to take away from their chief the symbols of his rule. Thereupon My Father sent for a reaping-knife, and had gashes made in the body of the rebel, and when his back was hacked through he fell to the ground. Then a Cherub cast him out of heaven, and he fell upon the

earth, and his ribs and his wings were broken, and his followers became devils like unto himself.

After Adam had lived in Paradise for one hundred years, My Father made a woman out of one of his ribs, and Adam lived with her in the Paradise of Delight for two hundred years. One evening when they were feeding the beasts outside the north wall of Paradise the Devil took the form of a serpent, and tempted Eve, and she and her husband were expelled from Paradise. Adam was condemned to a life of toil, and Eve to bring forth her children in sorrow and tribulation. Then My Father told Mouriël that Adam had transgressed His commands, and He appointed him to be lord over Adam. And He said to Mouriël: Thy name shall be Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, and it shall be a terror to all men. Thine eyes shall be like a wheel of fire; thy breathings like the bubbling and hissing of blazing sulphur and fire in a lake of fire; the sounds from thy lips like seven thunders; thy head like a pillar of fire; each of thy teeth shall project from thy mouth half a cubit; thy fingers and toes shall be like reaping-hooks; on thy head shall be seven other heads, which shall change their forms continually, and from the mouths of which the teeth shall project two palms; thou shalt shew no mercy to young or old; and when men see thy face the terror of it shall frighten souls out of their bodies.

When the angels heard these things they were afraid, for they believed that even they would die of terror. Then Abbatôn entreated My Father to allow him to have a day of commemoration and festival, namely the thirteenth day of Hathor, so that men might in honouring him repent of their sins and bring offerings to him. This My Father agreed to do, and He also decreed that the form in which the Angel of Death appeared to the righteous when dying should not be one of terror, and that he should treat their souls with gentleness, and lead them from their bodies into the place of rest.

When Christ had said these words to His Apostles, St. John replied that if Death appeared in his own proper form at the Last Judgement they would all perish through fright. In answer to this Christ described to the Apostles how He would come in His glory, and the part which He would take in the judgement of souls. He told John that he should not die until the thrones had been set in the Valley of Jehosaphat, that the Angel of Death should come to him in the form of Michael, and that his body should only be dead for three and a half hours, after which time his soul should return to it, and he should rise up again in glory. He also told the Apostles how He would save 'his clay' from destruction, and would save the righteous and punish the wicked. And, having ordered them to preach unto all men a day of commemoration for Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, He kissed the Apostles, and the angels carried Him up into heaven, whilst the Apostles worshipped and wondered.

Archbishop Timothy ends his discourse with an appeal to his hearers to 'give generously to the poor on the day of the Festival of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death.

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# THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT VICTOR

## THE GENERAL

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7022)

ΤΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ Π ΠΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Fol. 1 a  
 ΠΕΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗ ΠΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ δ  
 ΕΤ ΤΑΙΝΥ Π ΠΕΧΡ̄· ΑΥΤΗ ΠΧΑΙ ΚΛΟΠ  
 ΗΛΠΕ· ΗΤ ΑΧΧΗΚ ΧΕ Ε ΒΟΛ Π ΠΕΧ-  
 ΑΥΤΗ ΕΤ ΤΑΙΝΥ· Η ΣΟΥ ΧΟΥΤ ΣΑΥΧΕ  
 Π ΠΕΒΟΤ ΦΑΡΠΟΥΤΕ· ΖΗ ΟΥΕΙΡΗΝΗ  
 ΗΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ· ΕΡΕ ΗΕΧΣΟΥ ΕΤ ΟΥ-  
 ΛΑΒ ΗΛΕΙ Ε ΖΡΑΙ Ε ΖΡΑΙ *(sic)* Ε ΧΩΗ  
 ΗΤΗΟΥΧΑΙ ΤΗΡΗ ΖΙ ΟΥΣΟΠ ΖΑΠΗΗ:—

Ας ωπε δε ρη̄ τη̄πτερο π̄ διοκλινφανος π̄ρρο  
 ρη̄ τη̄ερ̄ ωοετε π̄ ροεπε π̄ τεϋ̄επ̄τερο· ρ̄α  
 π̄ωορπ π̄ εβοτ· παλαβολος αϋωωρ̄ᾱ ᾱ πεϋρ̄ντ  
 η̄σα βολ̄ ᾱ π̄νοτε· ε τ̄ρ̄ ϋερε π̄ η̄ετ̄ ε̄ε̄ ε̄ω̄ω̄ε·  
 αϋω̄ᾱω̄ε π̄ η̄εαωλ̄ον· αϋκω̄ η̄εωϋ̄ ᾱ π̄νοτε  
 π̄ τη̄ε· ε τη̄ε ϋεη̄ω̄ε ᾱπ̄ ϋεη̄ω̄ε· ᾱπ̄ ϋεη̄εοη̄π̄  
 π̄ σ̄ιχ̄ εϋω̄οε̄ετ̄· σ̄ω̄τ̄ᾱ σ̄ε̄ τενοτ̄ ε̄ τη̄επ̄τ̄ω̄ω̄ρε  
 π̄ οϋω̄η̄ρε̄ ω̄η̄ᾱ η̄ε̄ β̄ικτωρ· διοκλινφανος δε  
 π̄ρρο· αϋσ̄τᾱεβοτ̄λε̄τε̄ ε̄ρ̄ η̄ετ̄ ε̄ε̄ ε̄ω̄ω̄ε̄ ᾱ π̄ᾱτο  
 ε̄ βολ̄ ᾱ π̄νοτε̄ ῑς̄ πεχ̄ρ̄· ᾱτω̄ η̄αῑ η̄ε̄ π̄τ̄  
 αϋᾱᾱτ̄· αϋτᾱᾱε̄ιο π̄ ε̄ω̄ω̄ε̄ *(sic)* η̄το̄ω̄τ̄ π̄ ποτ̄β̄·  
 αϋ† ραν̄ ε̄ροοτ̄ η̄ε̄ ποτ̄τε̄ η̄ρο̄η̄ε̄ αν̄ η̄ε̄·  
 αϋε̄ο̄τε̄ ε̄ ᾱᾱβ̄ τη̄ η̄πο̄τε̄ η̄ρο̄ο̄τ̄τ̄· ᾱτω̄  
 ᾱᾱᾱᾱ τη̄ η̄πο̄τε̄ η̄ε̄ρ̄ᾱε̄· ᾱτω̄ π̄ε̄ε̄πε̄ π̄ η̄εϋ-





















[illegible]

Παταβολος δε αψευδης πριη αι πειωτ η απα βικτωρ· αψτρε οτααυ η διοκλινφανος πρρο:—πρρο δε η тере ψωωψт е ροτη ραι προ η απα βικτωρ πεχαυ ηαυ· же ηток пе βикτωρ е тће от аеп ексωтαι ηса пекειωт· ηт ототωψт η на ποтте· еие ηт соотη аη же отηтаг теготсга е ροτη е ρок· апа βикτωρ де аψβολη αι пψμотс ηпотб· аτω аψбоуη αι пецρωк· ет то ρиωу· аψпохот е ροτη ραι про η ηαιοκλινфанос еψτω αеееос· же ρоλос ρω аηт отаатог аη· отае η фгнк аη ρа ратη η отρро еψаψеот· аλλα ειρηη ρа ратη αι πρро ет ρη αι ппте· ψенρ ρар ραι пхωωме η пехристфанос· же аηт ψтоа αееωтη е р ρаегаλ η жс снат· η ппотте ппотте· η п[α]αеонас· аτω он же аηтψтоа αееωтη е отωа е боλ ρη тетрапеза αι пхс· аτω е боλ ρη тетрапеза η ηααеонион· тенот се фиауαеуе αι ппотте η тпе· ηта тαι ψαеуе ρωωу αι п[α]αеонас· ете ηток пе ω πρро· πρро де пехау η απα βикτωρ· же е тће от актолеса акротризе αеееиог (sic) η тег ρе тирс· екеееете же аηт ноласис ρг басанос ραι пαикастηριон·



метаной · аѡ ѡнало еѡѡнт е рок · ѡпѡр  
 се ѡпр ꙑ ат сѡтѡ ꙑѡѡ · ѡѡшт еѡаак  
 пѡнре ꙑ абраае | же ѡп еѡр ат сѡтѡ ꙑѡа Fol. 7 b  
 печеѡт · еѡаѡ е тѡрте нтпе ѡѡѡѡ еснѡт ꙑа  
 е псѡт е ѡѡ · тѡѡт се ѡпр ѡпѡѡ ѡ  
 пекѡт · нѡ ѡѡпе ѡа пѡѡѡт ꙑ ѡае · ꙑтѡѡ-  
 ѡѡпе ѡа пѡѡѡт ѡ печеѡт · же аѡѡѡт еѡѡ  
 пѡѡѡ на ѡнѡ · тѡѡт се ѡпр ꙑ ат сѡтѡ ꙑѡа  
 пекѡт · аѡѡ ѡѡ ꙑнапараѡаѡѡ ѡ прѡѡ ·  
 нѡѡаѡ ꙑ стрѡтѡлатѡс · аѡ ѡѡѡѡ ѡ пѡѡѡ  
 ѡ ꙑѡѡѡѡѡ · же тѡѡтстрѡтѡлатѡс рѡ ѡ пѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡ · ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ ѡѡ ꙑа ѡнѡ · еѡ ѡн тѡ е  
 тѡѡтѡ ѡ ꙑа ѡѡ ꙑѡѡ · еѡѡ ѡ ꙑ ѡѡ ·  
 аѡѡѡ аѡѡѡ прѡѡ · же а ѡѡѡѡѡ ꙑѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡ е пѡѡнре аѡ ѡѡѡѡ · е тѡѡ ѡѡ  
 ꙑтѡѡѡ · аѡ аѡѡѡѡ ѡ прѡѡ ѡѡ пѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡ ·

Дѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡ аѡѡѡѡ ѡ прѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ же  
 ѡѡ еѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙑѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ · пѡѡ  
 прѡѡ ѡ пѡѡѡт · же ѡѡѡѡ ѡ ѡѡѡ же нѡ  
 ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ ѡн · ѡѡѡ ѡнре · ꙑѡ ꙑ аѡѡ ѡѡ  
 ѡ ѡѡѡ · ѡѡѡ пѡѡнре ꙑ ѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡѡ · е тѡѡѡ · аѡѡа сѡтѡ  
 ꙑѡѡ ѡн не ꙑѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ ѡ ѡѡѡѡѡ сѡтѡ  
 ꙑѡѡ аѡнѡ ꙑѡа пѡ ꙑѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ ѡ пѡѡѡт ·  
 еѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ е раѡѡѡ · нѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ  
 ꙑѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ еѡѡѡ · аѡ ѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ  
 аѡѡѡѡѡ · аѡ пѡѡѡ ѡ прѡѡ · же прѡѡ ꙑ ат  
 ѡнѡ аѡ ѡѡѡ · ѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡѡ пѡ ꙑѡ еѡ  
 ꙑѡнре ꙑѡѡ · ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ е рок · аѡ аѡѡ  
 ꙑѡѡѡѡ е рок :— | аѡ пѡѡѡѡ ѡ пѡѡѡѡѡ Fol. 8 a  
 ѡѡѡѡѡѡ · аѡѡ ꙑѡѡѡѡѡѡ е рок · нѡѡѡ- ѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡ ꙑ тѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡѡ е ѡѡѡ · нѡѡѡѡ ꙑ тѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡѡѡ ·

Аҫҫоуиҥ җе иҫи прро • аҫнеҗете иҫтеиоу е тре  
 ҫноуиҫиҫе аҫеу җи неҫаниуина • енеҫҗи тар  
 иҫе иҫаниуина • аҫтре ҫҫотеи наҫ аҫеате •  
 җе кас иҫнеҫеуоу җа перно • аҫҫаҫуоуиҥ и  
 теҫеиҥткоуеҫ • аҫтре ҫеуотр и неҫҫиҫ җи  
 падоу аҫеу • аҫеуорҫ е неат и оуоту • аҫреҫ  
 теиҫте и теҫапе • аҫу аҫеуиҥ оуҫҫиҫиҫиҥ е  
 неҫеауҫ • аҫу а ҫтоот аҫеатои ҫеҫ неҫҫиҫ  
 и ба • аҫу неҫҫиҫте е роҫ • еҫпериаке аҫеу  
 җи тпоиҫ тиҫе • еҫки на җиҫ • ере пнҫриҫ  
 уиҥ е боҫ җа теҫҫиҫ • җе иҫаҫр наҫ аҫ паҫ җе  
 аҫпе ҫҫҫиҫаҫе и иҫиҫте аҫ прро • аҫу аҫеуиҥ  
 тпоиҫ тиҫе иҫеаҫ •

Зраҫ җе җиҫ соҫа аҫ пареиҫте • җе пнҫорҫиҥ и  
 еҫот и тарҫиҥ иҫтероепе ката тҫиҫиҥ иҫе  
 ҫроуеаиҫ • а аиҫкнҫиҫаиҫ җи и оуҫхартне  
 аҫҫраҫ е роҫ и теҫ җе • җе аиҫк аиҫкнҫиҫаиҫ  
 пет о и җоҫеҫ е пнҫеиҫ тиҫиҥ еҫҫраҫ и җар  
 ҫеиҫ пнҫеиҫ и раҫте • җе җиҫ теҫиҫ еҫоҫ  
 наҫеиҫ наҫ аҫ пеҫ еҫуеиҫ җе внҫтор •  
 еҫҫаҫе аҫеу и ҫоуиҥт иҫоп • аҫиҫеуеҫ иҫ  
 пнҫиҥ е пнҫтвиҥ иҫҫиҫиҥ • иҫ роҫҫиҥ:— |

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 15

Аҫу иҫтеиоу аҫпараҫиҫоу аҫеу е тоотот иҫ  
 тоот аҫеатои • е тре ҫҫиҫиҥ е раҫте • ере  
 оуҫкнҫиҫиҫиҥ җе неҫеауҫ • ере оуҫаҫеуеҫ  
 җи роҫ • аҫу ере оуҫпаҫаиҫ җи неҫоуҫриҫте •  
 еҫки на җиҫ ере оуҫиҫиҫиҫиҫиҥ җи раҫиҥ • аҫу  
 ере аҫ еатои җоуҫрҫр аҫеу •

Праҫиҫ җе апа внҫтор пеҫаҫ иҫеаҫиҫ еҫто е  
 роҫ җе на ҫиҫиҥ • аҫуиҥ етеҫиҫиҥ поҫаҫиҫиҥ  
 е роҫиҥ и теҫ җе тиҫе • аҫу етеҫиҫиҫиҫиҥ аҫеу  
 оу пе пнҫоуҫ иҫ аиҫаҫиҥ пнҫиҥ • етеҫиҫиҫиҥ е  
 җраҫ е җоҫиҥ и теҫ җе тиҫе • и аҫиҫиҥ аиҫаҫиҫиҥ  
 аҫеуиҥ енеҫ • и аиҫиҥ оуҫаҫиҥ енеҫ • еҫуе

а҃геїне па х҃е соотїї ꙗ та рїѣ · от ꙗнон же  
їтотї а҃лла отон ꙗїе · а҃пѡр же на сїнѡ  
а҃пѡр раше а҃аи · же а ренпѡоот тѡотн е  
жѡг · ѡснѡ гар же а҃пѡр раше ꙗ ота еасїеот ·  
а҃лла ари пееете же тїнаиот тирї · а҃лла  
же аїр ааотн ꙗїїїїїї ꙗ отроот ꙗотѡт а҃пѡр  
аас е тѡнїт · а҃лла ари е тѡе пнотте ꙗтетї  
ѡѡ ꙗаї аї пѡхадѡс · ꙗтаже пѡ ꙗаже е  
та аааѡ · а҃ааотн же а҃аїаѡ ꙗ рнѡ · а҃ѡѡ  
аї пѡхадѡс рї рѡѡ · ꙗтоѡ же а҃ѡ ꙗсѡотн  
е ротн е пѡнї :—

Тѡаааѡ же ꙗ тѡе снѡт е рѡѡ асѡтортѡ рраї  
ꙗ рнѡ · асѡотн рїаї пѡсѡропѡс · пѡхас же  
ꙗтоѡ пѡ па ѡнре ѡїктѡр | пѡѡѡн ꙗ на ѡаѡ · Fol. 9a  
пѡснѡт е рѡѡ еѡнї ка рнѡ · еѡнї пѡнпѡ е 17  
пѡѡїа аї пѡсѡтрннѡ · пѡхас наѡ · же е тѡе  
от ѡѡоѡ ꙗ тѡе рѡ · ѡ па ѡнре ѡїктѡр · пѡнї  
а та ѡѡѡн ѡтортѡ енѡт е рѡн ꙗ тѡе рѡ · аї  
ꙗтаѡїѡ · ꙗ ꙗта прѡо катѡкрнѡ а҃аиот еѡ-  
нѡѡ · же еѡнѡ ꙗаї наѡ · прѡѡѡс же апа  
ѡїктѡр пѡхас ꙗ тѡаааѡ · жї рїе не ѡ та  
аааѡ · же еѡнѡ аї аї прѡн ꙗ ѡїктѡр е ѡаѡ рїе  
пѡнї аї пѡот :—

Тѡот же сѡтѡ е рѡн та аааѡ · ꙗтаѡ ꙗ наѡаже  
ет рѡѡ е ротн енѡаааже · рѡ ѡе аїн ꙗ рѡѡ  
нїе ари рѡте рнѡѡ аї пнотте · ꙗте ѡѡот ꙗ  
пѡпѡт ѡааѡ · пѡѡѡѡѡѡн тѡѡѡѡ · ꙗнїстїа  
рѡрѡ е рѡот · а҃пѡр ѡѡе е пѡѡнра аїн пѡр-  
ѡѡѡс · же жїн аї пѡот ѡѡн · енѡѡѡпѡ ꙗ  
ѡрѡѡѡс · ꙗ ат еїѡт н ат аааѡ · же кас  
тѡїтнѡ ет рѡ наас аї пѡнї аа · ере пнотте  
наѡаас е рнѡт ꙗ ѡа · пѡѡаас ꙗїїїїї рѡ рїе  
пѡа е ѡнаѡѡн е рѡѡ · е ѡаѡ же аїн пѡто ꙗ  
пѡѡ е тѡѡн · пѡт ѡѡпѡ ѡа пѡѡнѡ ·





[illegible][illegible][illegible]

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R

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[illegible][illegible]



αἰσος ἄλλοι πακ • †χι ἥσε ἡαννωινα • αντ  
 πεер чтоот мен и комес рѣе пπαλλатион ἄ  
 прро • аτω εἰπса прро па еиот пет мер  
 снат • ἀλλὰ εἰσανυαхе ρῆι παι κпажоос же  
 ант отжасионт • ѿ пзотз • ари пееете ἄ  
 пероот итакеи е κπωεитатων:— |

Акпаракалеи ἄλλοу же аат и комес е ракоте • Fol. 12 a  
 аτω ἄпе па еиот катазлот е шаже пеееак • κτ  
 акеи акпаракалеи ἄλλοи ρῆι отроп же шаже  
 ии пекеиот е тѣннт • иѣхи итот и шоеит и  
 кенатнарион и нотѣ • иѣаат и комес • анок  
 де аѣитѣ е роти е пани • аitre па рѣраал  
 тирот аар е ратот е рок • етѣи еанпакис и  
 нотѣ • аτω εἰπса паи а па еиот еи е роти •  
 апарѣ пау ехе пкар • шант ѣпиѣе ἄλλοи  
 иѣаак и комес:—тенот ѣе пе краре ет  
 шаже и отот • ит тоовет паи • ἀλλὰ аѣено  
 рѣе пераппелион же пет отоме ἄ па оеи пѣ  
 еаи • аѣи ἄ пеѣѣѣ е ргаи е жи • пзотз де  
 аѣтре рготе е роти рѣе пеѣро и рен котепос •  
 аτω аѣтре ѣжолкѣ ρῆи ренилворос • аѣ пау  
 ἄ иптѣѣте пѣаотѣа • ρῆи рениеожкѣ еѣж  
 ἄеос • же ѣнаѣазапге ἄеок шант кѣот  
 ката ткелетсис ἄ прро • εἰπсѣс • аѣтре ѣ  
 пенпе е пеѣѣѣ ии пеѣотрните • аѣѣѣѣ  
 жолѣ *(sic)* тирѣ ἄ пенпе жи теѣпе ша пеѣ  
 отрните • аѣноѣѣ е пештеко • аѣкааѣ га перко  
 ии пеѣѣ ша пеѣрасте

Зтооте де и тере ѣшопе а пкомес тре теие  
 пау и апа ѣиктор • аѣентѣ де еѣотѣ тирѣ ἄ  
 пенпе • пѣакарис де апа ѣиктор • ии еѣеш  
 ѣѣѣѣ е мооше е тѣе таѣе и ἄ пенпе ет то  
 е роу • ἄеаааи де неѣжен итспоотс еѣѣѣѣ  
 ἄеос • и тере ѣѣѣ де е пеѣраитворион • |

K2

[illegible]

Αὐτῷ ᾠαρε ἡ ἀγγελὸς εὐφρανε εἰ ζωὴν · ἢ τε ἰς  
τελευτὰ ριχῇ περφόρονος · ἢ τε περ σταθῇ τηροῦ

 $\overline{R\epsilon}$











αἱ πεκαποποσεννε ἢ ψινρε ις πεχρς πενχς ·  
 παῖ ἐτ ποτρε αἱμοι ρε αα ἡε ἐτ οὐναχίτ  
 ε ροϋ · ενεααδ ερατῖ ἡεααῖ οη · ἡτ ψωπε  
 ἡεααῖ · αε πῆτο ε βολ αε πεῖ ἀνομοσ · τότε  
 ἀφκελετε ἡσι ἐττοχίανος · ε τρε τεκε αἱμοϋ  
 ε πεκρο · ατω πεχαϋ παϋ · χε ἡτοκ πε βικτωρ  
 πεαποσ · तेनот се евр̄ маца ρῖ от мататаи ·  
 αἱπατ εἰσθῆριζε αἱμοκ ἡτ μοσ · ἀφοτωψῖ ἡσι  
 ἀπα βικτωρ πεχαϋ αε παοσζ · χε αἡτ οὐμα-  
 ποс ан · отде ἡтаσχοи ан ε πεῖ ρωβ · ἀλλα  
 αἡτ οὐρεαλ αε πεχρς ις · παῖ ἐτ ποτρε αἱ-  
 μοι ρῖ на ѿлицε тпрот ·

Εὐτὸς χιανός δὲ πεζαὺς ἡαὺ· ἥ εἰ τῆς οὐ ρω αἰπε  
 κῶσσιαζε αἰπατ ἐκβῶν ρῆ πει βαζανός· λοιπον  
 τενού αἰεού ἡτ ὁτσίαζε· αἰπ ρω αἰ πει αἰ  
 ἥ ἐτῆναπατ εἰ ρον· αἰσῶσῃ ἡσι ἀπα βικτωρ·  
 ἥ οὐκ οὐ ἡ πταῖρ | ροτε ρητῆ ἡρω αἰ Fol. 16 a  
 εἰσῶσιαζε· ἀλλὰ πταῖρ ροτε ρητῆ αἰ πα χοεῖς ἁ  
 ἡ πεχρῶ· ψηρ παρ ἥ αἰπ ρ ροτε ρητοῦ ἡ  
 ἡτ ἡαἰοοῦτ αἰ πετῆσῶ αἰ ρῆ πκαρ· εἰπ  
 τ οὐροῦ εἰ παῖ εἰ αἰαὺ ἡτῆ· ἀλλὰ ἀρῖ ροτε ρητῆ  
 αἰ πετε οὐῆσῶ αἰ αἰοὺ εἰ тако ἡτῆψῶ χῆ  
 αἰ πετῆσῶ αἰ ραῖ ρῆ ττερεπῆνα·

Пѡоуꝑ ꙗе пѣхачъ • ѿ ꙗтавѣ е пѣи ѡа е пѡе  
 ѡѡон г҃н отроѡеліа есшотейт :— екшантолѡа  
 ꙗ ке соп е шажѣ ѡ па ѡто е вола • фнатре  
 тсѡлп ѡ пеклас • ꙗ савнла тар е тѣе пекейотъ •  
 и епаданехе нан ан пе • ꙗсалїстнѣ тар ги  
 шалрпе ѡетпех лаат е пемтѡн ꙗ тсиотн •  
 епей ан кѡпша ѡ пиотъ • ашхрѡ нан ꙗнаі •  
 чкелетѣ ꙗсі пѡоуꝑ е тре теине ꙗ нецѣих ги  
 парот ѡѡочъ • атсѡлп ѡ пеклас ѡ ꙗгнѡ ꙗ  
 нецѣпототъ • ашѡ астрѣ теине е вола ꙗ нечан-  
 ачкаюн • ꙗсепегѣ нег е песнт е роот есѣврѣръ •



мѣаѡ шант ѿмѡѡ · ꙗ҃тєвнѡѡ а ѡтоѡѡ мѣ-  
мѡтои ѡарпазє мѣмѡѡ · аѡжѡтѣ є пѣа єт  
мѣаѡ ·

Пѣппаѡѡ ає апа вѣктѡр пѣѡтажрнѡ пѣ · аѡ-  
аполѡѡѣє ꙗ҃ѡтоѡѡ ꙗ҃ аѡкастѣрѡи ѡа тѣнѡѡ ·  
аѡѡѡпѣ ає єрѣ пѣакарѡѡ апа вѣктѡр мѣ пѡѡл  
мѣ пѡаѡкастѣрѡи ꙗ҃ ѡѡѡѡѡ · а пѡаѡѡѡѡ єи  
ѡа рѡѡ мѣ пѣмѡѡ ꙗ҃ ѡѡмѡтои · пѣжаѡ пѡѡ жѣ  
ѡарѣ *(sic)* апа вѣктѡр · аѡѡ ѡѡмѡтои ꙗ҃тѣ пѡаѡл-  
латѡи мѣ пѣрѡ · ꙗ҃та пѣкѣѡѡт тѣпѡѡѡт ꙗ҃ѡѡ ·  
жѣ тѡѡтѡи мѡѡѡ пѡи ꙗ҃тааѡ ꙗ҃ стратѣлатѣс ·  
мѣн мѣп єиѡсѣ є рѡѡ жѣ мѡѡѡ ꙗ҃тааѡ мѣп  
єѡѡтѣ ꙗ҃ ꙗ҃ѡѡ · ꙗ҃тѡѡ мѡѡѡаѡ пѣ ꙗ҃таѡѡ є  
ѡѡѡ ꙗ҃ пѣи ѡсѣ · ѡѣн нѣ аѡѡѡтѣрѡи пѣт ѡѡмѣ  
ꙗ҃ пѣкаѡѡѡѡ:—ꙗ҃ѡѡ ѡѡтѡи аѡ жѣ ꙗ҃тѣ ѡѡѡѣрѣ  
ꙗ҃ ѡѡѡт · а пѣкѣѡѡтѣ ѡѣ є рѡѡ жѣ мѣ ꙗ҃ѡѡ  
ꙗ҃ѡѡ · аѡѡѡ ꙗ҃ѡи ꙗ҃ тѣѡѡѡѡѡ пѡѡ ꙗ҃ѡѡѣрѣ ·  
ꙗ҃тѡѡ тѣнѡѡ пѣт тѡлѡѡ є пѣѡтѡѡр · аѡѡ аѡѡѡ  
ꙗ҃ ѡѡѡѣс є пѣѡѡ · пѣѡѡѡѡѡѡ пѣѡѡѡѡѣи мѣ-  
мѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѣѣ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗ҃ тѣѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ ѡѣн-  
ѡлѡѡѣс · аѡѡ єиѡ ѡѡѡтѣ ѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ тѣи єрѡѡѡѡ ·  
мѣн ꙗ҃ѡ рѡѡѣ аѡ жѣ ꙗ҃ѡѣ ꙗ҃ѡѡѣ єи є ѡѡѡ ꙗ҃  
тѣѡѡѡ · тѡтѣ аѡѡѡѣ ꙗ҃ѡи пѡаѡѡѡѡѡ є єиѣ  
є ѡѡѡ ꙗ҃ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѣс · аѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ мѣмѡѡѡ є рѡѡ  
пѣжаѡ · жѣ мѡ ꙗ҃ѡ ѡѡѡѡ тѡѡѡ ꙗ҃ ѡѡѡ мѣ  
пѣкѣѡѡт мѣп тѣѡѡѡѡѡѡѣс ·

Апа вѣктѡр ає аѡѡѡѡ єѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ пѡѡѡѡ аѡ-  
ѡѡѡѡѡѡ жѣ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ пѣ · пѣжаѡ пѡѡ:—  
жѣ ѡѡѡѡ є ѡѡл мѣмѡѡ · жѣ є тѡѡѡѡѡ єрѣ пѡѡѡ Fol. 17 b  
ѡѡѡ тѣрѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ · аѡѡ ѡѡѡ ꙗ҃ѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ  
єѡѡѡѡѡ · аѡѡѡѣ ѡѡѡѡ є пѣѡѡ ꙗ҃ѡи пѣакарѡѡ  
апа вѣктѡр пѣжаѡ · жѣ ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ є ѡѡѡ · пѡѡѡѣ  
ꙗ҃ ѡѡѡт ꙗ҃тѣ пѣѡѡѡѡ пѡ ѡѡѡѣс ꙗ҃ пѣѡѡѡѡ · єѡѡѡ-  
ѡѡѡѡ мѣмѡѡѡ ѡѡ пѡ ѡлѡѡѣс тѣѡѡѡ · аѡѡ ꙗ҃ тѣѣ

παλαβολος σωτη̄е пран̄ ꙗ̄с̄ ꙗ̄тєтнот̄ асѣ̄ ат  
отωн̄̄ е̄ ѡλ̄.

Апа ѡκτωρ̄ де̄ неѣшооп̄ р̄е̄ ꙗ̄καστροп̄. ере̄ іс̄  
шооп̄ ꙗ̄е̄ааѣ̄. р̄ӣ р̄ωѣ̄ ꙗ̄е̄ е̄неѣе̄ре̄ а̄е̄оот̄.  
п̄сєп̄п̄алос̄ де̄ ас̄е̄е̄к̄е̄оот̄к̄ѣ̄ р̄ра̄ ꙗ̄ р̄нт̄ѣ̄. же̄  
є̄п̄а̄р̄ а̄ш̄ ꙗ̄є̄ю̄пе̄ ꙗ̄та̄ѡн̄̄̄ е̄ р̄ос̄. не̄ ас̄ѣ̄т̄ с̄ѡ  
т̄ар̄ е̄ т̄е̄п̄т̄ра̄е̄ш̄е̄ не̄. а̄т̄ω̄ не̄ ш̄а̄с̄т̄а̄е̄ѣ̄  
тоот̄с̄ р̄ӣ л̄т̄х̄н̄а̄. не̄с̄ р̄е̄ ꙗ̄καστροп̄ а̄а̄т̄ааѣ̄.  
а̄с̄ш̄ω̄пе̄ де̄ ꙗ̄ от̄роот̄ е̄с̄р̄ӣ т̄є̄з̄ω̄р̄і̄ст̄е̄га̄ ꙗ̄с̄  
п̄е̄а̄ка̄р̄і̄ос̄ апа ѡκτωρ̄. ас̄е̄ӣ ш̄а̄ р̄оѣ̄ ꙗ̄с̄  
п̄ж̄с̄ іс̄. е̄ ас̄ш̄ѣ̄ѣ̄ а̄е̄ не̄с̄с̄х̄н̄е̄а̄. ас̄ѣ̄т̄ а̄е̄  
п̄е̄н̄е̄ ꙗ̄ от̄р̄а̄е̄ ꙗ̄ с̄к̄ѣ̄е̄ ꙗ̄р̄л̄ло̄. ꙗ̄та̄с̄е̄ӣ р̄ӣ от̄е̄а̄  
е̄с̄от̄н̄н̄т̄. ас̄т̄ω̄р̄е̄̄ е̄ р̄от̄ӣ е̄ про̄ а̄е̄ ꙗ̄καστροп̄.  
апа ѡκτωρ̄ де̄ ас̄е̄ӣ е̄ ѡλ̄. ꙗ̄ т̄ере̄ с̄п̄а̄т̄ де̄ е̄  
пр̄ω̄е̄ ас̄ѡ̄л̄а̄е̄ е̄ р̄от̄ӣ ē̄ р̄оѣ̄. ас̄ѣ̄т̄ӣ е̄ р̄ωѣ̄  
е̄с̄ѣ̄ш̄ω̄ а̄е̄о̄с̄. же̄ а̄е̄о̄т̄ е̄ р̄от̄ӣ ꙗ̄ ж̄с̄ ꙗ̄с̄он̄.  
а̄т̄ω̄ пр̄ω̄е̄ е̄т̄ н̄а̄н̄от̄ѣ̄. же̄ е̄і̄ѡ̄ ꙗ̄е̄ р̄ω̄с̄ ꙗ̄т̄  
а̄п̄а̄т̄ ē̄ іс̄ а̄е̄ поот̄. апа ѡκτωρ̄ де̄ не̄с̄соот̄ӣ  
а̄п̄ же̄ ꙗ̄е̄ не̄. а̄т̄е̄о̄о̄ш̄е̄ де̄ а̄е̄ п̄є̄с̄п̄а̄т̄ е̄ р̄ра̄ӣ  
е̄ п̄п̄т̄р̄с̄ос̄ е̄ не̄с̄ (*sic*) не̄с̄шооп̄ ꙗ̄ р̄нт̄ѣ̄:—

Апа ѡκτωρ̄ п̄є̄ж̄аѣ̄ а̄е̄ пр̄ω̄е̄. а̄ар̄ӣ ш̄л̄[н̄]л̄ е̄  
р̄ра̄ӣ ē̄ п̄ӣот̄те̄. іс̄ де̄ п̄є̄ж̄аѣ̄ ꙗ̄аѣ̄ же̄ а̄ар̄ӣ-  
ш̄л̄н̄л̄. п̄є̄ж̄е̄ апа ѡκτωρ̄ ꙗ̄аѣ̄ же̄ т̄ω̄от̄ӣ ꙗ̄ |  
ш̄ор̄ӣ. же̄ ꙗ̄т̄к̄ от̄н̄ос̄ ꙗ̄ра̄ р̄о̄ӣ. а̄т̄ω̄ н̄от̄а̄а̄ѣ̄  
же̄ а̄ӣок̄ е̄і̄ р̄е̄̄ а̄ӣ[т̄]ѣ̄с̄ ꙗ̄ро̄е̄п̄е̄ е̄ поот̄. а̄е̄п̄а̄т̄е̄  
а̄а̄є̄ӣ ꙗ̄т̄е̄ п̄є̄ӣ к̄ос̄м̄ос̄ от̄ѡн̄̄̄ е̄ ѡλ̄ р̄е̄̄ ꙗ̄  
с̄ω̄е̄а̄. от̄а̄е̄ а̄е̄п̄є̄ка̄н̄а̄ ꙗ̄т̄е̄ ꙗ̄а̄ѡ̄ӣ а̄л̄е̄ е̄ р̄ра̄ӣ  
є̄ж̄а̄е̄ ꙗ̄ р̄нт̄ е̄ п̄т̄ӣр̄ѣ̄. п̄є̄ж̄е̄ іс̄ ꙗ̄аѣ̄ же̄ к̄ω̄ ꙗ̄а̄  
е̄ ѡλ̄ ꙗ̄ с̄он̄ ꙗ̄т̄ат̄ω̄от̄ӣ. іс̄ де̄ ас̄п̄ω̄р̄ш̄  
ꙗ̄не̄с̄ѣ̄т̄х̄ е̄ ѡλ̄ а̄ӣ апа ѡκτωρ̄. а̄с̄ш̄ω̄пе̄ де̄  
є̄т̄ш̄л̄н̄л̄. а̄ п̄є̄ӣт̄ ꙗ̄ т̄ӣѣ̄ ꙗ̄ іс̄ ш̄ω̄пе̄ ꙗ̄ р̄є̄н̄-  
л̄а̄є̄п̄ас̄ ꙗ̄ к̄ω̄р̄т̄. є̄т̄ж̄ω̄т̄е̄ ē̄ р̄от̄ӣ ш̄а̄ п̄є̄ѡ̄ро̄нос̄  
а̄е̄ п̄є̄і̄ω̄т̄.

Ас̄ш̄ω̄пе̄ де̄ ꙗ̄ т̄ер̄ от̄ѡ̄ є̄т̄ш̄л̄н̄л̄. ас̄ѣ̄т̄ п̄є̄ѣ̄от̄о̄ӣ

αχασπαζε η̄ ις̄. περσοοτη αν же ние пе.  
 апа ѡκτωρ де пexац нац̄. же ρεοос наκ  
 η̄тасει ᾱ πεκρο же εις οτ̄εινнше η̄ οτ̄δειц  
 ᾱπε пиа̄ е ρω̄ие. ατω φωρη̄ е ρок же нас  
 екета̄иоι ρη̄ οτωρ̄х̄ же η̄т̄η̄ οτ̄ρη̄ тωη̄. же  
 нас еие̄ие̄ же η̄т̄η̄ οτ̄ρη̄ та πολ̄ис̄.

Ις̄ де пexац нац̄. же η̄т̄η̄ οτ̄ρη̄ ρρω̄ειη̄ η̄  
 тκ̄λ̄ικ̄ιᾱ. ρρω̄ӣанос пе пек̄е̄ӣот̄. ατω м̄ар̄θ̄а̄  
 те тек̄ӣа̄а̄т̄. ατω тес̄ρ̄ӣе̄ η̄т̄ ᾱт̄ш̄η̄ тоот̄с̄ наκ  
 пе θ̄е̄οη̄ω̄η̄. ᾱλ̄λ̄а̄ п̄ӣот̄те̄ с̄от̄η̄η̄ нац̄. апа  
 ѡκτωρ де ᾱц̄р̄ӣе̄ е ρот̄η̄ е ρрац̄ пexац̄. же  
 ο̄ па сон̄ οт̄ӣос̄ те тек̄п̄ӣет̄ис̄. φ̄иа̄т̄ ε̄ ρок же  
 η̄т̄η̄ οт̄п̄ро̄ф̄ит̄ис̄. η̄ η̄т̄оц̄ η̄т̄η̄ οτ̄а̄т̄т̄е̄л̄ос̄ η̄те̄  
 п̄ӣот̄те̄. м̄а̄т̄а̄ӣоῑ де е̄ т̄η̄е̄ па̄ η̄ӣ. же εις  
 οт̄η̄н̄р̄ η̄ οт̄δειц̄ ж̄ӣт̄ а̄ӣе̄ е̄ ѡ̄λ̄ ρη̄ та̄ χ̄ω̄ра̄.  
 ᾱц̄от̄ω̄ш̄ь̄ η̄с̄ӣ ις̄ же ω̄ па̄ сон̄ а̄р̄ӣ οт̄ᾱη̄п̄т̄е̄а̄ӣ  
 ρω̄ӣе̄ η̄ᾱӣа̄ӣ. η̄т̄ φ̄ на̄ӣ η̄ οт̄δεικ̄. η̄т̄а̄от̄δ̄е̄ӣц̄.  
 же па̄ м̄е̄ρ̄ с̄а̄ш̄ц̄ пе̄ ποот̄ ᾱп̄ εῑот̄ω̄ӣ:—|

Αпа ѡκτωρ де пexац̄. же ρη̄ οт̄е̄е̄ па̄ сон̄ па Fol. 18b  
 м̄е̄ρ̄ ρ̄е̄е̄ ποот̄. ᾱπε̄ λ̄а̄а̄т̄ ѡ̄κ̄ е̄ ρот̄η̄ е̄ та̄ λ̄с̄  
 та̄п̄ро̄. οт̄де̄ ᾱп̄ εῑκ̄а̄а̄т̄ ка̄ ρη̄т̄ η̄ на̄ ρ̄о̄ӣте̄ е̄т̄  
 ρ̄ӣω̄т̄. ατω̄ φ̄он̄ξ̄ η̄с̄ӣ п̄х̄с̄. же ᾱп̄ о̄е̄ӣκ̄ οт̄де̄  
 м̄о̄от̄ ш̄о̄оп̄ на̄ӣ ρη̄ т̄е̄ӣ е̄ρ̄н̄е̄ӣа̄. οт̄де̄ λ̄а̄а̄т̄ η̄  
 εῑζ̄ос̄ η̄ οт̄ω̄ӣ. т̄е̄н̄от̄ θ̄е̄ па̄ сон̄ т̄ω̄от̄η̄ η̄т̄ ж̄ӣ  
 η̄ η̄е̄ӣ λ̄от̄χ̄ӣа̄ ᾱп̄ η̄е̄ӣ то̄δ̄т̄с̄. ατω̄ па̄ к̄е̄ м̄о̄от̄с̄.  
 η̄т̄ ѡ̄κ̄ е̄ ρот̄η̄ е̄ т̄е̄ӣ πολ̄ис̄ η̄т̄ та̄а̄т̄ η̄т̄ ж̄ӣ η̄т̄е̄т̄-  
 а̄с̄от̄. η̄т̄ ш̄η̄ ρ̄е̄п̄о̄е̄ӣκ̄ на̄ӣ η̄т̄η̄от̄ω̄ӣ. м̄е̄η̄п̄от̄е̄  
 η̄те̄ тек̄ψ̄т̄χ̄η̄ с̄ω̄ш̄ӣе̄. же η̄т̄а̄к̄е̄ӣ ρη̄ οт̄ρ̄ӣη̄  
 е̄с̄от̄η̄н̄т̄.

Ᾱц̄от̄ω̄ш̄ь̄ η̄с̄ӣ ις̄ же̄ ш̄а̄κ̄ρ̄е̄ е̄ ρω̄ӣе̄ т̄ω̄η̄ η̄т̄ ш̄а̄ж̄е̄  
 η̄ᾱӣа̄ӣа̄ ρη̄ т̄е̄ӣ е̄ρ̄е̄ӣа̄. η̄ η̄ӣе̄ пе̄ ш̄а̄ц̄ц̄ӣ п̄ро̄-  
 от̄ш̄ η̄ тек̄т̄ро̄ф̄η̄. ᾱц̄от̄ω̄ш̄ь̄ η̄с̄ӣ апа̄ ѡκτωρ̄  
 же̄ от̄о̄ӣ на̄ӣ па̄ сон̄. ᾱп̄а̄т̄ е̄п̄ω̄ρ̄ е̄ п̄к̄е̄ м̄а̄ е̄т̄е̄  
 ᾱп̄ ж̄ӣρ̄о̄ η̄ ρ̄η̄т̄ц̄. η̄т̄ ρ̄е̄ е̄ ρ̄ос̄ е̄ρ̄е̄ па̄ ж̄о̄е̄ӣс̄ ις̄





[illegible]

Πτεριστοῦ ἃ ἀπα βικτωρ παρτῆϛ α̅ε̅ πχς εϣχω  
α̅ε̅μοσ· же ант нм̅ анок же алр [α̅ε̅]пш̅а е трѣ  
ш̅аже н̅ееа[г] ѡ па хс̅· а іс̅ аспазе α̅ε̅моу·  
аϥбон е граі е̅е̅ пн̅де· еор̅э̅не̅те̅ е роу̅ п̅си̅  
па̅ппелос̅·

Апа вѣктор ꙗже нечшооп рꙋ ꙗкастрои:—ере пхѣ  
іс шооп нѣаау. апа вѣктор ꙗже ашшоуп нас  
п теукате еп теутабе. ꙗкастрои ꙗже аша-  
шаг ааатої еаате. е тѣе паакаріос апа  
вѣктор. паакаріос ꙗже апа вѣктор ашкѡб п  
нечшлнл ет сеіре ааоот. аш несеіре п  
зенноз п нистега. аш нецгарез е нецаавба-  
тон. ере пхѣ іс шооп нѣаау рꙋ отєірни  
пте пноуте. ере нецмоот ет огааѡ нашоупе  
нѣаан гаени:

ИЗЕЗ ЧТО · Д · ИШАРТУРИА · Н АПА  
ВІР ЗН ОУЄІРНИИ НТЕ ПНОУТЕ · СПОУ ·  
ЕРОН · ЗАШНН :—

Ἀσπόμε δε ἡμῖνα τεζωρίστεα ἡ πράσιος ἀπα  
 βίκτηρ· ἐσπόμε ρῆ πκαστρον·

Πατρις δε σεβαστανος αχει ε γραμ ε μεση |  
 πκαστρον • αστεριος δε πεπρατωριος α πκασ-  
 τρον • ασπαρτη ρι οη α πκομες • ερε соτηρι-  
 χος ο ποτεελαριος • αψη ηαη α πλινελλος  
 η απα βικτωρ • ε тре спаргиста αμεος ηαη •

[illegible]

Пеже пѣотъ, наѣ же денсѣа не наѣ • ꙗѣа прѣро  
тѣноотсѣот е ошѣот е рок • же енесѣтѣ е роот

[illegible]

Ἀλλὼς φσοοτι ἄλλοι εἰσι ἥσε ἡαννωινα · ερε  
 πα εἰωτ ὃ ἡ στρατηλάτης · αὐω ερε πνοτε  
 μοστε ἄλλοι ἔε εἰσι ἄλλοοτ ρῆ οὐχι ἡσονς ·  
 τеноτ се ѿ пзотъ · еп̑и нотѣ отъе еп̑и рат  
 ἡ αἰψ не ρῆ πρωεε ἔε πιατ ἡ τεφанацки · е  
 тѣе паг се мариῖ еп̑ице е рон · ἔе отовѣс те  
 нтаѣнаас ρиῖе пепонт · е тее ῑ пеееѣе ἔе  
 пееот ἔе пиаѡи · ἄλλοи αἰσι εἰοот ρω αὐω  
 αἰσιце · е тѣе паг а пет снз ѡѡк е ѡд е ѡѡ ·  
 ἔе пет хисе ἄλλоу сенаѡѡѡу · пет ѡѡѡѡ ѡе  
 ἄλλоу сенаѡастѣ ·

[illegible]





[illegible]

Тотѣ пѣаѣос пѣаѣѣ • ѡе ѡро пѣ нѣ аѣѡро | ѡѣ-  
ѡѣ пѣ нѣ аѣѡѣѡѣ • ѡе аѣнѡѡѣѣ ꙗ ꙗ ѡѡѡѣѣ  
е пѣѡѡ • е тр ѡѡнѣ ꙗ ꙗ ѡѡп • ꙗѡе ѡар ꙗ ꙗ  
аѣѡѣѣѣ • ꙗѡѡѡѣѣ е ѡѡѣ ꙗѡѣ ѡѡѣ ꙗ ꙗ ѡѡп •  
ѡѣѣ ѡе ꙗ ꙗ нѣ нѣ аѣѡѣѣѣ ѣ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѣѣ • еѡѡѡѣѣ  
ѣѡѡѣ ѡѡѣ пѣѣ ѣѣѣ ꙗѡѣ ꙗ ꙗ ѡѡп •

Αὐτῷ ἡττηνὸς ἀ πειραστος ἀποτάσσει ἡμῖνα ἡμεῖς ἐτε  
 οὐ ἡτταμεν σοὺ ἀνκαθήμεν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐ πρὸς ἡμῖν τῆς τριᾶδος  
 ἐκ οὐρανόθεν· αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἡμεῶν θρόνον ἐκ μερῶν  
 ἡμεῶν ἀφρονόου· περὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ νικητῶν·  
 καὶ ἀπὸ σαβῆ ἡμῖν οὐ καταβῆ· περὶ ἀπὸ νικητῶν  
 ἡμῶν· καὶ ἡγορευθῆναι ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ οὐ καταβῆ· περὶ  
 πᾶσιν καὶ ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀντὶ σοῦ· περὶ ἀπὸ  
 νικητῶν· καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ ἡμῖν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἡμῖν πᾶσι  
 σοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡμεῶν· περὶ πᾶσιν καὶ ἀπὸ νικητῶν καὶ  
 παύλος καὶ ἡμῖν ἀφραδῶν· περὶ πᾶσιν· καὶ οὐκ  
 οὐκ παύλος οὐκ οὐκ καὶ· περὶ ἀπὸ νικητῶν

нацъ · же ꙗко ꙗко ѿсофос ꙗрхнѣктѡн ес-  
 шанкѡ е граѣ ꙗтсѣте · ꙗкѣи ꙗси ке ѡта ꙗкѣре  
 е рос ꙗкѣнѡт е граѣ е жѡс · таѣ те ѡе ꙗꙗ ꙗаѡлос  
 ꙗтаѣеи ꙗ гѡн · асѣ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ неграѣн · ꙗѡѡѡ  
 де ꙗѡѡ ꙗцъ · же аѡн еѡѡ ꙗ неѣ ꙗѡѡ ꙗꙗ  
 ꙗꙗѡѡ · неѣ гѡнѡе ꙗр ꙗѣ гѡн ꙗꙗѡн аѡ ·  
 аѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ еѡ ꙗ ꙗнѣ ꙗнѣ · сѡтѡ ꙗꙗ  
 теѡн ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗтаѡѡ е ѡѡ · аѡ ѡѡѡѡ  
 де ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ аѡѡ ѡт сѡѡ аѡ · | аѡѡ аѡѡ ѡт-  
 сѡѡ · еѡѡѡѡ ꙗꙗ ꙗтаѡѡѡѡ · еѡѡѡѡ ꙗꙗ  
 ꙗсѡ ꙗꙗ · ꙗсѡ ꙗꙗ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗꙗ еѡѡ ·  
 аѡѡ еѡ ꙗѡн ꙗ ꙗꙗ е ѡѡ · еѡ ꙗꙗѡѡѡ  
 ꙗѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡ ·

Αἰψὼν τ' αὖ ἴσσι παύσῃς ἀφικέσθε εἰς τρεῖς θύμης  
 βόλ' ἢ νεφελέος ὕψος περὶ τ' ἐνεσφονδίης·  
 περὶ δ' ἴσσι ἀπὸ βικτωρ· ῥῶν αἰ παύσῃς· καὶ  
 ἰνερῶν ἰτακέντος εἰς βόλ' ῥῶν παρὰ σῶμα·  
 ἐστὶ αἰ περὶ τ' ῥενεῖν ἐκαστοῦ ῥῶν  
 οὐρανῷ· ἴτε νεφελῶν ἢ βῶν τήντος εἰς βόλ'·  
 ἀπὸ ἴτε οὐρανῶν ὕψος αἰ παρὰ τήντος·  
 ταῖς τε ταῖς ῥῶν· τήντος αὖ τ' ῥῶν ἴτε αἰ παρὰ  
 καὶ τ' περὶ· ὕψος ἐνερ· ἢ ἐνερ ῥῶν.

Παοτꝫ δε αϥτρε θεινε η οτινεϛ ατσαρτε ρα ροϥ  
 ψατ ϣβρβρ. αϥτρε τπαρτϥ εηη νεϥανατκαιον.  
 ατω η τετινοτ ητατπαρτϥ ε ζωοτ. ατσωλπ  
 ατρε ε ρραι εχαι πκαρ. αϥοτωψβ ησι πελακα-  
 ριοϥ απα ηικτωρ. κε πει νεϛ ητ ακπαρτϥ ε  
 χωι. εϥο αι πεσειοτ η οτλειοτ εϥκνβ. εψαρε  
 οτρωμει χιτς ρη οτκατμεα. ηϥετααϥ ε βολ η  
 ρητϥ. ητε οτλειοτνεϥ ψωπε αι πεωμεα τηρϥ ε  
 the ome.

Παοτ̃ δε αςκελετε ε τρε παшт̃ е прериета-  
риѡи п̃сєρωке ααου· ατω αςτρε τιот̃ же ероти  
га роу п̃со еп̃λααεпас п̃ κωрт̃· ατω пєт̃ρωке

αἰμοῦ παύσηται σῆτε· αὐτῷ ἔπε πικρῷ ζωῶ ε  
 ροῦ ε πτηρῷ· ε βολῶν же нере ппосте шооп нас·  
 αὐτῷ εἰς σοε нас ρῖν неφθλψис тпρот·

Παυτῶν де пехаῦ нас· же канн кефалн· αἰγисε  
 εἰς со е ρок же еннашпне:— | αὐτῷ επε кктот·  
 теноῦ се мот нῦ οὔσιαζε птакаан е βολ· апа  
 биктор де пехаῦ нас· же псаῦ актсо е ρоι·  
 αἰποот де αἰпр̄ тсо е ρоι· пете ρнан ариῦ пай·  
 ачкелете пῖσι паутῶн е тре перт ρεεῶ ρи кωпиа  
 е песнт ρῖн ρωῖ· апа биктор де пехаῦ· же  
 пει ρεεεῶ αἰп̄ пει кωпиа пт аῡтсои αἰμοот· ето  
 пῖе п̄ οὔεβιω есраате е песнт ρῖн та шотῶбе·  
 тоте паутῶн ачкелете е тре шпωрн̄ αἰ нецбал  
 снаῡ есрнῶ· п̄ тетпот аῡеи пῖσι кестωнарис·  
 ашпотже п̄ ρеншлис еσλοбῶн е ρотн е нецбал  
 αἰп̄ нецμεααже· п̄ тетпот а течаῶн сῖте пωрн̄  
 аῡре е ρрай ех̄αἰ пкаῡ· αὐτῷ а пкапнос еи  
 е ρрай ρεε нецанкефалос·

Апа биктор де пехаῦ αἰ паутῶн· же кан ек-  
 шанаат п̄б̄л̄ле ρῖн п̄бал ет ρи βол· отп̄т аио  
 н̄εεεаῡ п̄ ρенке бал ρи ρотн αἰμοи еῡр̄ ото-  
 еи:— ете пай не п̄бал п̄ та ψῡχη αἰп̄ па ρнт·  
 ката пе нта петрос папостоῡос жооῦ· же  
 есшан шопе п̄тетпнаῡ е βол ρῖн п̄бал αἰ  
 псωμεα тетпнаῡ е неρβнте αἰ пкосеиос ет  
 шотейт· отпорна αἰп̄ откатаῡαῡα· αἰп̄ от-  
 ρотн̄ αἰп̄ отρiλα· αἰп̄ отαἰптхасиῡнт пай ет  
 ере тортн̄ αἰ ппосте ннῡ е тῡнтот· е тῡе пай  
 п̄ т̄р̄ χρια аи п̄ п̄бал αἰ па сωμεα·

Паутῶн де асотῶшн̄ пехаῦ нас· же кан асказе  
 αἰμοи теноῦ· е трат̄ наκ п̄ ρенке нос п̄ база-  
 нос· Апа биктор де пехаῦ· же коласис п̄е  
 ет еρнан ариῦ пай· аиок т̄сῡтῡт е тωотн̄  
 ρа ρоот· λοιπον αἰпр̄ тсо е ρоι· паутῶн де









апе ꙗ знтѣ • аѡ нехѡра тирот инѡ е ратѣ  
 аа па тонос • е тѣе ꙗѡе ет наѡпе ꙗ знтѣ •  
 е ѡа же ант ѡшнре шне еиѡи ѡѡѡте  
 ꙗропе • ꙗшне е рѡтѣ тиртѣ па шѡнр ааѡи •  
 же енаѡн е ратѣ аа па хѣ ѣ нехѣр же паи пе  
 перѡѡт ет еиѡѡт е ѡа знтѣ • еи зните аѡ-  
 тарѡи аа поѡт • ꙗтеѡѡт ае аѡрек нехѡеѡс  
 е рѡѣ •

Апа ѡикѡр ае • нехѡѣ аа неѡѡнарѡс • же  
 поѡѡт е ѡа тахн е тѣе ꙗѡѡѡѡс ет катехе  
 е рои • аа ѣр ꙗѡ ꙗѡи неѡѡнарѡс • аѡа  
 аѡѡѡѡ ꙗ тѡѡе • а тѡѡе еи ꙗѡ тѡѡѡе • аѡ-  
 ѡѡпе еѡѡ ѡѡѡѡс • ере неѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗ  
 знтѣ • аѡѡѡѡ аѡѡѡ е ѡѡѡи неѡѡѡѡ •  
 нехѡѣ паѣ же ѡи ꙗ тѡѡѡ ꙗ тѡѡѡ аа не  
 ѡѡѡѡс • ꙗѡ ѡѡѡ е ѡа • же а неѡ аѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ рѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡ аа неѡѡѡ паи ѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡ •  
 ѡѡѡ па не ѡѡѡ ѡи аѡѡѡѡѡ аа па ꙗѡѡ • аѡа  
 ере ꙗѡѡ тѡѡѡе паѣ кѡѡ не ꙗѡ аѡѡѡ паи •  
 ѡѡѡи ае неѡѡѡѡ | нехѡѣ ꙗ апа ѡикѡр •  
 же па хѣ ааѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ е рои ѡѡ неѡ знт ѡѡс же  
 ена ꙗ тоѡт еѡѡ па ѡѡнр ааѡи • ѡѡ неѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡ ѡ па ѡѡи апа ѡикѡр ааѡ тѡѡѡѡ ет ѡи  
 ѡѡѡ • же ааѡ еи ꙗ тоѡт еѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡ енеѡ е  
 поѡѡ е ѡа аа неѡѡѡѡ • ꙗѡѡ ѡѡѡе е тра ꙗ  
 тоѡт е ѡѡѡ • аѡа аѡи па ѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ет  
 еѡѡѡѡ е роѣ • аѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡи апа ѡикѡр •  
 же ере ꙗѡѡ ѣ нехѣр еѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡ •  
 же ѡѡѡ ѡѡ тѡи роѡѡѡ кѡѡѡѡ • ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡѡ ѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡ е ѡа ꙗ неѡѡѡѡ • ꙗѡѡ нехѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡ ѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡѡ еи е ѡа ѡѡѡѡ • еиѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ еиѡѡѡѡ  
 неѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡ :

ѡѡѡи ае аѡѡ неѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡ неѡѡѡ •  
 нехѡѣ же ꙗшне е роѡ тѡѡѡ ѡ па ѡѡѡѡ

[illegible]

## COLOPHON

ιωσηφ ελαχ[ιστος] διακονος · παис του μακα-  
ριου σιμωνος αρχidiaκονος · της αγιας εκκλη-  
σιας του αγιου ιωαννου προδρομου βαπτιστου  
πολεως λαου · ετζασεε.. ερεμοу · ετω · οταλας  
γαμαρτωλου · αμην ·

THE ENCOMIUM OF CELESTINUS, ARCH-  
BISHOP OF ROME, ON VICTOR THE  
GENERAL

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7022)

Fol. 26 b

ⲙⲃ

ΟΥΕΓΚΡΙΨΟΝ Ε ΑΥΤΑΥΤΟΥ ἩΘΙ ΠΑ-  
ΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΤ ΤΑΙΝΥ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΑΙΔΑΣΚΑ-  
ΛΗΣ ἩΛΠΕ· ΑΠΑ ΚΕΛΕΣΤΗΝΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΙ-  
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ Ἡ ΤΗΟΛΙΣ ΖΗΣΙΝ· ἩΤΑΥ-  
ΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΠΙΟΥΥΟΥ Ἡ ΠΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ·  
ΑΥΤΩ ΠΥΑΙ ΚΛΟΝ ΗΛΠΕ Ἡ ΠΕΧΣ· ΠΠΑΡ-  
ΘΕΝΟΣ ΕΤ ΟΥΑΛΒ· ΠΖΑΛΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ  
ΠΕΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ ἩΤΑΥΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ Ε  
ΠΕΖΟΥΤ Ἡ ΠΕΥΡ ΠΠΕΕΤΕ ΕΤ ΟΥΑΛΒ·  
ΕΤΕ ΣΟΥ ΧΟΥΤ ΣΑΥΥΕ ΠΕ Ἡ ΠΕΒΟΤ  
ΠΑΡΠΟΥΤΕ· ἩΤΑΥΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΖΠ ΠΕΥ-  
ΠΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ἩΤΑ ΠΠΑΙ ΗΟΥΤ ἩΡΡΟ  
ΚΟΥΤ ἩΑΥ ΖΠ ΖΡΨΙΝ· ΑΥΥΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΗ  
Ε ΤΒΕ ΠΤΨΒΣ Ἡ ΤΕΦΥΧΗ· ΕΥΟΥΨΗΓ  
Ἡ ΠΖΨΒ Ε ΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΠἩ ΛΑΑΥ Ἡ ΤΑΧΡΟ  
ΖΠ ΠΒΙΟΣ Ἡ ΠΡΨΠΕ· ΗΣΑ ΖΙΣΕ Ζἱ ΤΑ  
ΛΑΠΨΥΡΙΑ· ΑΥΥΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΗ Ε ΤΒΕ  
ΠΕΤ ΣΗΖ ΖΠ ΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ· ΧΕ ΟΥ-  
ΖΟΤΕ ΗΕ ΖΕ Ε ΖΡΑΙ ΕΗΘΙΧ Ἡ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ·  
ΑΥΤΩ Ε ΤΒΕ ΤΗΟΘ Ἡ ΠΠΤΕΒΙΝΗ Η  
ΠΡΨΠΕ· Ἡ ΠΠΛΑΥ ΕΤ ΠΠΛΑΤ Ἡ ΠΕΥΠΠΛ Ε

НОІХ П ПНОУТЕ · НТАЧТАТЕ ПЕІ ЕУ-  
 КШІОН ΔΕ · ΕΡΕ ΠΡΟ ΟΥΛΛΕΝΤΑΝΟΣ  
 ΖΠΟΟΣ ΖΑΖ ΤΗЧ ПН ПСТΗΚΑΝТОС  
 ТΗΡС · ПН ПАТЦОС ТΗРЧ · НЗООУТ ЗІ  
 СЗШЕ · ЕУР ША П ПЕСТРАТНААТΗΣ  
 ЕТТ <sup>(sic)</sup> ПЗАГІОС ВІКТУР · ЦААΛΟΝ ΔΕ  
 НЕТР ШПНРЕ Н ТСОФІА П ПЗАГІОС  
 ΚΕΛΕCΤΗΝΟC · ЗН ОΥΕΙΡΗНН НТЕ ПНОУ-  
 ТЕ · ΕΡΕ НΕЧCΠΟΥ ΕΤ ΟΥΛΑΒ НАЕІ  
 Ε ΖРАІ Ε ΧШН НТНΟΥΧΑІ ТΗРН ЗІ ОΥ-  
 СОП ЗАШНН CΠΟΥ Ε ΡΟΗ:—

Зотан ершан птехитне ллатач · аѡ преч-  
 тоухо ѡ пецпласла · аѡ панаѡр ет мез  
 ѡ мптшанѡтнч нм · р знач рн тецмптшанѡ-  
 тнч · ер пмеее ѡ прохн п нечсш · пчч наѡ  
 п тезде ѡ песоѡеиш · пчотон е тецсш ет  
 мез п акаѡстнн нм · пч тре тпе шотѡ п  
 отмоѡ п рѡот рѡ пеѡѡеиш ет ешше · аѡ  
 п тей ре шаре псѡше лѡн псеѡотѡ · пте  
 тмптρωм тнрс етфране · пѡл ѡ пкаѡ рн от-  
 моѡ п рѡот рѡ пецснѡ · аѡ шаре потѡеи  
 пѡѡ ѡ петлоѡ п тсѡше рѡ проѡе · псеѡѡѡѡ  
 е роѡ ѡ псѡроѡ ѡ пснѡ п ткатасѡѡа · |  
 псархеі п ѡотѡ е рѡі п ренѡроѡ п жѡ ката Fol. 27 a  
 сенѡ · аѡ шаре отнѡ п терѡтс шѡпе п III  
 отон нм · рѡс етаѡлате п тетѡроѡн · мп  
 тетѡнѡнѡ п сѡмѡѡѡн · шѡ рѡі епке  
 тѡнѡѡѡ п тсѡше · шѡтскнрта псеѡи ѡѡѡ · рѡ  
 птре ѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡ рѡ пе хѡртѡ ѡ пкаѡѡѡѡ  
 ѡ пкатасѡѡа · аѡ шаре потѡеі етфране  
 калѡс · рѡс еѡѡреі е мез петѡнѡснѡн рн  
 неѡеѡѡѡѡ ·

Ёшѣ шаре отраще ꙗ теѣ де шопе е тѣе от-  
 трофн ꙗ сѡмѣткон . еіе отнѣр зѡѡꙗ не  
 праше ꙗ поот . ѡ пооре ꙗнесоот ꙗ лотикон .  
 аѡ ꙗлаос ет сѡмѣтат ꙗнехрїстѣанос . ѡ а  
 песноꙗ ꙗтаѣе е ѡл рѣе песпір ꙗ пноуте ꙗꙗ  
 пмоот де е зраї ехѣе пкар . аѣр ꙗкосмос  
 ꙗѣрре ꙗне соп . аѡ аѣшопе ꙗ отпѣтн ꙗ  
 моот еѣѡѡе еѡнѣ ꙗа енез . а тѣѣтрѡе  
 тнрѣ еѣфране аѡ аѡѡ ѡѡѣ тнрот ра  
 праше . аѣ отѡ ꙗне соп рѣтѣе пмоот ꙗꙗ  
 песноꙗ . ꙗт аѣе е ѡл рѣе песпір ꙗꙗ-  
 мапотнл . аѡтѡ е ѡл ꙗ ренкарпос ꙗ  
 ꙗꙗкон ете ꙗꙗ не ꙗрети ꙗ пепнл ет ѡѡѡѡ .  
 роіе ꙗꙗ аѡѡтꙗ ꙗꙗ ꙗтѣѡ ѡн пѡѡпо  
 ꙗа пѡѡѡ е ѡл . ренкооте ѡе ѡꙗтѡ ꙗꙗ-  
 маѡ ꙗтѡѡе еѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ ꙗете ꙗꙗтѡ . роіе  
 еѡскеї ѡн тѡꙗꙗткон ꙗа тѡꙗꙗтѡлѡ . рꙗ  
 ѡѡн ꙗнстѡе есѡѡѡ . роіе аѡѡѡѡѡе ꙗ  
 ꙗкосмос . аѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗтѡѡѡ . аѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡ .  
 еѡскеї ꙗ ꙗѡѡн ет ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗа пѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡ-  
 ѡѡ :— | ренкооте аѣ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡѡ . аѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡл ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ . ехꙗ  
 ѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ . аѡ аѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ тѣѣтѡѡѡѡѡ . рѡѡѡ рѡѡѡѡ а тѣѣтрѡе  
 тнрѣ ѡѡѡ . аѡ аѣ карпос рꙗ ѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ еѡѡѡѡѡ . а ꙗѡѡ ет снз ѡѡ е ѡл ехꙗ  
 теї тѡѡѡ . ѡ сѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ тнрот ѡн пѡѡѡ  
 ꙗа пѡѡѡ .

Fol. 27 b

ꙗꙗ

Пѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ рꙗ тѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡ ꙗꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡ . еѡ ꙗ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ аѡ ѡѡѡѡѡ .  
 рѣе пѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ ете ꙗѡѡ ꙗ . ꙗѡѡѡ  
 тн[р]ѡ ꙗ ꙗ ꙗнѡ сѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡ .  
 еѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗ ꙗ ꙗт аѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗкосмос  
 ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ аѣ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡ ет ѡн е ѡл .



непрофитне иӣ ама̀ртѣросъ. рѣи теӣӣнѣ  
 а̄ поотъ. еѣр ѡа̄ а̄ не итаѡа̀потассе а̄ про-  
 мос иӣ неѡхрѣӣа. а пехрѣ ееритѣ. аѡ  
 аѡстѣфанѡт а̄ӣӣоѡ рѣӣ пеклоӣ ӣ тѣӣпѣтеро ӣ а̄  
 пнѣ. ѡ пестратнлатис прѣтѣос ѡикѡр. ѡ  
 пестѣфанитис ӣ а̄ӣӣа̀ртѣросъ. ѡ патѡӣноѣтис  
 ӣ ат ѡѡтѣӣ. ѡ пѡа̄ӣ влоӣӣ на̄ӣе а̄ пехрѣ. ѡ  
 пѣнт аѡр пѣѡѡӣа ӣ ѡѡѡѡѡ есоӣѣ. есоѡа̄а̄  
 еѣр а̀наѡ а̄ пнѡтѣ. ѡѡѡѡѡ еѡ ӣ рѣнеѡѡ-  
 ӣӣӣ е рѡк рѣӣ пекѡа̄ а̄ поотъ. а̀лла ѡр рѡте  
 же иӣѡѡӣ а̄ӣӣо̄. епѣра а̄ ппѣлатѡс ӣ пек-  
 нѡѡрѡѡӣа. епѣӣ [а̀н] ѡѡлас ӣ сѡрѣ не па̄ ласъ.  
 аѡѡ ѡѡрѣнт ӣ рѡӣе пѣт а̄ӣӣо̄. иӣѡѡ ѡѡӣ а̄-  
 ӣӣо̄ е ѡѡ а̄ пекѣѡѡт иӣ пекѡа̄ѡ. ӣта пнѡтѣ  
 ѡѡлѣѣ а̄ӣӣо̄к ӣ рѣнтѣ. ӣӣе епѣр рѣӣ пѡѡѡѡс  
 тнѣрѡт а̄ пѡѡѡѡс пѣт наѡѡѡ а̄ пекѡа̄ѡ рѣӣ  
 ѡѡѡѡк. ѡ прѣтѣос ѡикѡр. епѣӣ а̀н ӣтѣ ѡѡ-  
 парѡѣнос ѡӣӣӣӣӣтѡѡѡ. ӣтѣ ѡѡсѡѡитис ӣ  
 ѡпнѣ:— |

Ѣӣӣстѣтѣ сѡа̄т сѡа̄т а̄ пекѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ тнѣрѣ. ерѣ Fol. 28 a  
 про а̄ пекѡӣ ѡѡѡӣ ӣ ѡѡѡӣ ӣӣе. е тѣѣ па̄ӣ еѣр ӣе  
 рѡте е ѡ па̄ ѡѡѡѡ е ппѣлатѡс ӣ пекѡѡрѣтн.  
 еѡѡѡѡӣ а̄ пѡѡѡѡ а̄ па̄ ласъ. иӣ па̄ рѣнт етѣ  
 иӣ ѡѡѡа̄ ӣ рѣнтѣ. епѡѡѡѡѡ рѣӣ а̀ѡ ӣ сѡѡѡ  
 ӣтаѡа̄а̀ѡ.

ӣтѣ ѡѡпарѡѣнос ӣѡѣ ӣ рѣӣласъ. аѡѡ а̄пѣ кѡѡӣ  
 ӣ те сѡӣе епѣр. ӣтѣ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ӣ а̀ѡѡѡс. аѡѡ  
 ӣ рѣӣ ӣ рѣнт е рѡѡӣ еѣѡѡѡѡ тнѣрѡт. ӣѡѣ ӣ ӣ а̀ѡѡ-  
 рѡӣӣ ппѡтѣрѡхнѣ. ӣтѣ ѡѡѡѡртѣросъ еѡѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡӣ рѣӣ а̄ӣӣа̀ртѣросъ тнѣрѡт. а̄пѣ кѡ рѡте рѣнтѡт  
 ӣ пѣрѡѡѡт иӣ ӣѡѡѡѡ. иӣ ӣѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ. ѡѡѡ а̄-  
 пѣ пѡѡѡѡѡс еѡѡѡѡӣ е̄ѡ пекѡѡѡѡѡѡѡс. а̄пѣ  
 напѣѣлѣӣ а̄ пекѣѡѡт ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡс еѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ на̄к е  
 рѡѡѡ е пекѣѡѡт ӣ а̀лнѡѣӣнос пехрѣ. а̀лла пек-



їтон де ѿ пратис ѡктор • акр̃ пексѡма  
 ммм̃ ммм̃ок ѡ отпросфора ѡ пиотте •

С тѣе паї акѡи ѡ относ ѡ еоот рїи тейптерѡ ѡ ѡ  
 пите • е[и]шантїтѡиѡ е пиомѡетис Пѡтис •  
 їтон рѡок он акапотассе ѡ тейптератн-  
 латис ѡ пей коксѡс • мп̃ тейптрѡма ѡ  
 пекейѡте • мп̃ пекхурнеа • акр̃и ѡ пекфѡс  
 акотар̃и їса пекхѡс • ѡ пѡтис ѡш е тре  
 тѡотте е роу • де пшнре ѡ тшере ѡ фараѡ •  
 алла асѡтп̃с наѡ е шп̃ рсе мп̃ пѡс ѡ  
 пиотте • їротѡ ѡи їтапѡлатис ѡ пиѡе прос  
 отѡеш • їтон де рѡок ѿ пратис ѡктор • мпе  
 котѡш е тре тѡотте е рок де пшнре ѡ рѡ-  
 манос • пшор̃и рѡ паспасѡс ѡ пр̃ро • ака-  
 потассе ѡ паѡма їтейптератнлатис •  
 мп̃ текейптрѡма • акотар̃и їса пе итаѡ Fol. 29 a  
 хѡс • де пет м̃е п̃ейѡт • ѡ маат їротѡ е роу п̃  
 иѡепша м̃ейѡи ан • акѡи їтейптератнлатис  
 ет м̃и е ѡл ша енеѡ •

Ешантїтѡиѡ е їсаїас пепрофитис • їтон де  
 рѡок акѡѡрей ѡ пет рѡѡс рѡи пехейрот-  
 беш мп̃ їсерафеш • асѡї ша рок асѡадеен  
 рїи пекѡлѡтис тирѡт • аѡ асѡ еоот наѡ рїи  
 ѡ пите мп̃ пѡѡ • пет рїи ѡ пите м̃и асѡан  
 ѡ стратнлатис рїи тейн̃те ѡ м̃еартѡрос  
 тирѡт • ката ѡе ет їнаѡт̃ен̃ѡ прѡѡ ипт̃и е ѡл •  
 ершан пшаѡе м̃ѡше еѡн • рѡм̃ пѡѡ он асѡ  
 еоот наѡ • рѡсте їте пексѡ потѡе м̃еѡ  
 пехѡра тирѡт • ѡ пѡксѡс • їсекѡт наѡ ѡ  
 рен̃еартир̃юн ката ма • їте рен̃ѡс ѡ ѡм̃  
 мп̃ рен̃шнре шѡпе е ѡл рї тоотѡт • еѡѡѡ  
 ѡ пиотте мп̃ пѡеартѡрос ет ѡѡѡ • ѡм̃е  
 сар пе пшаѡе ет снѡ • де пет наѡ еоот наѡ па  
 еѡт наѡѡѡ •





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аа пшнре шне е роти е птопос ката пе нта  
 пернт аамоу • аарн аотте етрөөе рн тполс  
 ершн ррааа • перр пшнре шне н фен | нтнф  
 н теуасот е роти е птопос • же нне пееарт-  
 рос бонт е рон • аоттоуи де атеотте е  
 пратеатеттис рн тполс ершн ррааа • ато  
 ерф е воа аа пееаге тирф • аурр пшнре шне н  
 фен е рне н ролокотфнос • ато ати н пнотр  
 аатаа е роти е птопос аа пееартрос • аа-  
 потр пееете аа пет снр • же евшанернт н  
 отернт аа пхс пеннотте екетаау •

Прагос де вктор н тере рнаа же аапе пееоте  
 аа пшнре шне ф аа пернт рн отсоотн • ала  
 атеете же таореа аа пнотте ешаахнос рнн  
 ренхрнеа • ауре отрөө н теи мне шопе ети  
 нба нтеаипат онт •

Ашопе де н отроот ере пшнре шне раа прр  
 ернн н грау аа на теуот рартн пнн н пее-  
 еоте • рн отешне атиос н өне раа пкөө раа  
 пнн ре ехаа пшнре шне • ауре аеаот н теу-  
 нот • н тере пеееоте сотаа аперр пееоте •  
 атишнав е воа рн отиос н сен • ате е воа  
 аа нрааа • ауре е пшнре шне ерөөотт •  
 ө отиос те тлатеи нт ашопе аа пнаа ет аа-  
 маа • етоу е воа же отот пнн шнре аа еернт  
 анон пе нташопе н аифос аа пееот • е воа  
 же анернт аа нхак е воа аа пенернт • нтн-  
 тааа е роти е птопос аа пнет отааа • еис рннте  
 аернтн н тоотн апат нсеи аамоу • аурөө  
 н несп[л]ахнон ра тлатнн аа пенеернт н  
 шнре • анон пет аапша аа пееот • еннар от  
 хнн аа пеи наа нтнсоотн ан • пеееот де аурн  
 нау н отпестис естахрнт • аурн аа пеешнре  
 ноти е пее | рааер • ере теуаааа аа пееаа-

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8a

ραλ οὔνηρ ἰσωϋ · ἀϋχίτῃ ε ροῦν ε πεαρτηριον  
 α̅ε̅ πρατιος βικτωρ · ἀϋοταρῃ ε πεснт ρι̅он α̅ε̅  
 пеотсиастиріон · ἀϋωϋ ε βολ̅ εϋϋω α̅ε̅εос · же  
 праtiос βикτωρ · †соотн же от̅п̅зои α̅ε̅еон е  
 ρωб̅ ние · аѡ ἰтoк пе ἰт̅ аѡхарізе на̅и̅ α̅ε̅ пеи  
 шнре шн̅е̅ · α̅ε̅п̅р̅ еіре на̅и̅ ката α̅ε̅п̅т̅ат̅о̅нт̅ ·  
 α̅λ̅λ̅α̅ ш̅п̅ ρтн̅ ех̅п̅ на̅р̅α̅ε̅іоо̅те̅ · н̅т̅ ктo ἰ̅  
 теϋ̅т̅х̅н̅ α̅ε̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅ ш̅н̅е̅ е ρоϋ ἰ̅ ке соп · аѡ  
 анон н̅α̅ε̅ас̅ т̅п̅на̅р̅ ρ̅ε̅ρα̅л̅ на̅к̅ ш̅а̅ пе̅ро̅от̅  
 α̅ε̅ пен̅е̅от̅ ·

На̅и̅ а̅ε̅ ἰ̅ т̅е̅ре̅ ϋ̅х̅о̅от̅ еϋ̅р̅і̅е̅е̅ аϋ̅χ̅и̅ ἰ̅ о̅т̅ш̅н̅е̅ ἰ̅  
 н̅е̅ρ̅ ρ̅ε̅ пе̅ф̅ан̅ос̅ · аϋ̅ε̅φ̅ρα̅т̅і̅зе̅ α̅ε̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅ ш̅н̅е̅  
 ἰ̅ ρ̅н̅т̅ῃ̅ · аѡ аϋ̅† е̅ т̅ῃ̅та̅про̅ α̅ε̅п̅ ш̅п̅т̅ῃ̅ α̅ε̅п̅  
 пеϋ̅р̅нт̅ · те̅ш̅п̅н̅ре̅ а̅ε̅ ἰ̅т̅ а̅ε̅ш̅ω̅п̅е̅ · α̅ε̅ п̅на̅ѡ̅ е̅т̅  
 α̅ε̅α̅ѡ̅ о̅т̅от̅б̅ е̅ та̅ ρ̅ε̅λ̅і̅ас̅ α̅ε̅п̅ ρ̅ε̅λ̅ε̅с̅а̅і̅ос̅ · ἰ̅т̅ε̅т̅-  
 н̅от̅ с̅ар̅ ἰ̅та̅ п̅н̅е̅ρ̅ α̅ε̅ пе̅ф̅ан̅ос̅ та̅ρ̅е̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅  
 ш̅н̅е̅ · а̅ пе̅ н̅та̅ϋ̅х̅о̅ос̅ же̅ ш̅а̅и̅ ш̅а̅ар̅ е̅н̅т̅е̅ та̅ σ̅і̅χ̅  
 та̅λ̅σ̅ο̅ · к̅т̅е̅ те̅ϋ̅т̅х̅н̅ α̅ε̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅ ш̅н̅е̅ ἰ̅ ке соп ·  
 аѡ ρ̅і̅т̅і̅ ἰ̅ со̅п̅ε̅п̅ α̅ε̅ праtiос βикτωρ · аϋ̅ο̅т̅н̅н̅  
 ἰ̅ неϋ̅β̅α̅л̅ · о̅т̅н̅ос̅ пе̅ пра̅ше̅ ἰ̅т̅ аϋ̅та̅ρ̅е̅ неϋ̅-  
 ε̅і̅ο̅т̅е̅ α̅ε̅ пе̅ро̅от̅ е̅т̅ α̅ε̅α̅ѡ̅ · α̅ε̅п̅ не̅т̅ н̅п̅ е̅ ρо̅от̅  
 т̅н̅ро̅т̅ · е̅ѡ̅ϋ̅ е̅ βол̅ ρ̅п̅ о̅т̅н̅ос̅ ἰ̅ с̅ε̅н̅ · же̅ н̅т̅к̅  
 о̅т̅н̅ос̅ ω̅ п̅и̅ο̅т̅е̅ α̅ε̅ праtiос βикτωρ · аѡ α̅ε̅п̅  
 ке̅ о̅т̅а̅ ἰ̅ β̅λ̅λ̅а̅κ̅ · ρ̅п̅ т̅п̅е̅ аѡ ρ̅і̅χ̅α̅ п̅на̅ρ̅ · ē̅  
 п̅ε̅α̅ ἰ̅ о̅т̅ρ̅н̅б̅е̅ а̅κ̅† на̅п̅ ἰ̅ о̅т̅ε̅т̅φ̅ρο̅σ̅т̅н̅н̅:—  
 а̅κ̅т̅ο̅т̅н̅ε̅с̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅ ш̅н̅е̅ ἰ̅ неϋ̅ε̅і̅ο̅т̅е̅ · ἰ̅ т̅е̅ре̅  
 ϋ̅ε̅ο̅т̅ ·

ἰ̅ т̅е̅ре̅ п̅α̅и̅н̅ш̅е̅ на̅ѡ̅ е̅ т̅и̅ο̅с̅ ἰ̅ ш̅п̅н̅ре̅ ἰ̅т̅ а̅ε̅-  
 ш̅ω̅п̅е̅ · аѡϋ̅ е̅ βол̅ ρ̅п̅ о̅т̅н̅ос̅ ἰ̅ с̅ε̅н̅ · аѡп̅ω̅т̅  
 е̅х̅α̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅ ш̅н̅е̅ · аѡϋ̅̅ е̅ βол̅ е̅ѡ̅ϋ̅ α̅ε̅εос̅ ·  
 же̅ о̅т̅а̅ пе̅ п̅и̅ο̅т̅е̅ α̅ε̅ праtiос βикτωρ:— |

Аѡ а̅ пе̅і̅ω̅т̅ α̅ε̅ п̅ш̅н̅ре̅ ш̅н̅е̅ аϋ̅ε̅ε̅ш̅т̅ т̅п̅ο̅λ̅і̅с̅ Fol. 31 b  
 т̅н̅р̅ε̅ н̅̅α̅ε̅ас̅ · е̅с̅α̅α̅ε̅ρ̅т̅е̅ ἰ̅ те̅ϋ̅σ̅і̅χ̅ е̅ϋ̅та̅ш̅е̅ο̅ε̅ш̅ ζ̅б̅  
 ἰ̅ ἰ̅з̅ο̅и̅ α̅ε̅ праtiос βикτωρ · α̅ε̅п̅с̅ω̅с̅ аϋ̅β̅ω̅κ̅ е̅





π̄οεραπ̄ια · ἀλλὰ ἀσσω ἐσθὰ βαζανος · ἀτεια  
 τοοτοῦ π̄ως π̄σι πεσρωμε · μαλιστα δὲ ἀπ-  
 σαειν ῥ̄ σποτ̄αν κ̄ιιῑ π̄π̄ οτ̄еш̄οεραп̄ет̄ē π̄еиос ·  
 καὶ περ τ̄сωиe тe π̄ē π̄р̄ро · ἀλλὰ ἀτ̄р̄ ат̄ соӣ  
 π̄наδρ̄ē π̄паθос π̄ē π̄ш̄иe · ката θе π̄т̄  
 ат̄сга̄ е т̄вн̄н̄т̄от̄ · же а т̄ет̄сoφiа ω̄х̄ӣ π̄гн̄т̄от̄ ·  
 и т̄еrе сс̄ωт̄ē δе е т̄в̄е π̄сoӣ π̄п̄ п̄еш̄п̄иrе · ет̄  
 ш̄ооп̄ ρ̄ē π̄топос π̄ē π̄р̄аtиос β̄иkт̄ωp · аспара-  
 καл̄еи π̄ē п̄есга̄ π̄п̄ п̄ессоп̄ · е т̄rе т̄каас π̄с̄  
 β̄ωк е π̄топос π̄ē π̄п̄ет̄ отаа̄н̄ · ρ̄арн̄т̄ π̄т̄е п̄еу-  
 п̄атагос · π̄с̄χ̄ар̄ӣze п̄ас π̄ē π̄таλ̄со · п̄еср̄ωӣе  
 δе ат̄п̄о̄е π̄еиос · п̄ет̄п̄ат̄ е р̄ос ē аск̄т̄ӣа̄т̄ӣеrе  
 е п̄еиот̄ · ат̄от̄еrс̄агн̄е е т̄rе т̄таλ̄ос ет̄β̄ас-  
 т̄р̄еӣна · π̄с̄εx̄ӣт̄ē е π̄топос π̄ē π̄р̄аtиос β̄иkт̄ωp ·  
 ат̄ω π̄ т̄еrе с̄β̄ωк е ρ̄от̄ӣ е π̄топос ас̄ωш̄ е  
 β̄оλ̄ · же п̄а х̄с̄ π̄р̄аtиос β̄иkт̄ωp · †с̄оп̄ π̄еиос  
 п̄а п̄аг̄ · π̄с̄ с̄ӣ π̄еӣа̄т̄ ρ̄ӣ х̄ωӣ π̄ē п̄еӣ ρ̄ӣс̄е · же  
 π̄т̄к̄ оτ̄р̄аtиос π̄т̄е п̄иот̄т̄е · ρ̄ӣ т̄п̄аш̄е δе π̄  
 т̄еt̄ш̄ӣ а π̄р̄аtиос β̄иkт̄ωp ш̄ӣ ρ̄т̄ӣс̄ ρ̄а т̄еt̄е-  
 ф̄ора π̄т̄ес̄ρ̄ӣе : |

Αc̄еӣе п̄ас π̄ отап̄ап̄ат̄с̄ӣс̄ · ас̄ω̄β̄ш̄ еrе п̄есρ̄ē-  
 ρ̄аλ̄ π̄п̄ п̄ес̄с̄иот̄р̄ κ̄ωт̄е е р̄ос · ат̄ω аc̄еӣ ш̄а  
 р̄ос ρ̄ӣ оτ̄ρ̄ор̄оӣа · ес̄ф̄ор̄еӣ π̄ оτ̄п̄ор̄ф̄т̄р̄а ·  
 ес̄п̄еx̄ а̄т̄ӣӣ π̄ оτ̄δ̄еӣӣ е β̄оλ̄ · еrе оτ̄ρ̄а̄н̄з̄ос  
 π̄ оτ̄δ̄еӣӣ ρ̄ӣ т̄ес̄т̄ӣх̄ · п̄еx̄ас̄ п̄ас же еш̄же  
 т̄р̄от̄ωш̄ е оτ̄х̄аг̄ · ер̄ш̄ап̄ т̄ωот̄ӣ π̄ ш̄ωр̄π̄ π̄  
 р̄аст̄е · х̄ӣ π̄ оτ̄ш̄ӣе π̄ п̄еr ρ̄ē п̄еф̄анос · ет̄  
 м̄от̄ρ̄ ρ̄ӣе π̄ē п̄еот̄с̄ӣаст̄ӣр̄ӣон̄ · π̄ т̄ег̄ т̄ωρ̄с̄ π̄  
 п̄от̄еκ̄ӣβ̄е · ат̄ω п̄а̄а̄ӣо̄ӣон̄ п̄а̄ш̄т̄орт̄р̄ π̄с̄еӣ е  
 β̄оλ̄ · π̄т̄е̄г̄ло ρ̄ē п̄еӣ ρ̄ӣс̄е · ἀλλὰ ρ̄ар̄еr̄ е р̄о еρ̄ō <sup>(sic)</sup>  
 π̄ ота̄г̄ӣ[ρ̄]ӣт̄ е ρ̄от̄ӣ еп̄от̄ρ̄ēρ̄аλ̄ · ат̄ω ρ̄ар̄еr̄  
 е р̄о е т̄ē м̄оош̄е π̄к̄е с̄оп̄ ρ̄ē п̄еӣ м̄аκ̄ρ̄ ет̄  
 х̄оос̄е · π̄т̄е с̄оот̄т̄ӣ π̄т̄е σ̄ӣх̄ е π̄г̄ӣк̄е · καὶ τ̄ар̄  
 π̄та п̄еӣ ρ̄ӣс̄е таг̄о ē т̄в̄е т̄от̄π̄ӣт̄ат̄ п̄а · π̄п̄ т̄от̄-

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ѡѡтѣхаст ѡнт • тесрѣе де асѡѡпе рѡ ѡтноз  
 ꙗ шторѣр • асѡѡѡѡ рѡ ѡтрѡте • же ꙗтѣ нѣе ꙗ  
 теѣ де тѣрѣ • ере неѣ нѡѡ неѡѡт кѡте е рѡѡ •  
 асѡѡѡѡ рѡ ѡтсѣн еснѡтѣ: же анок не ѡк-  
 тѡр пестратнѣлатне ѡ ꙗнѡѡ ꙗрѣо • аѡ ꙗ  
 тере ѡѡе ꙗѣ асѡ еснѡт е рѡѡ • ꙗтѣнѡѡ  
 аснѣрсе е рѡѣ рѡ ꙗрѡѡѡ • асѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡтноз  
 ꙗ сѣ [нѡѡ]ѡе е асѡѡѡ ꙗѣартѣрѡн тѣрѣ • аѡ  
 пѣхас рѡѣ ꙗ ѡнтѣ • же аѡнѡѡс ꙗѣѡѡ ѡкѡр  
 пе ꙗѣ • ет ѡѡѡе ꙗѣѡѡ • анок теѣ рѣѣрѡѡѡ •  
 аѡ ꙗтѣнѡѡ аснѣрсе ꙗнѣсрѡѡѡ • асѡ е рѡѡ  
 ѡ ꙗрѡѡѡ •

Аѡ нте рѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡе • асѣ пѣсѡѡѡѡ епѣ *(sic)* епѣ-  
 прѣсѣѡѡтерѡс ѡ ꙗѣартѣрѡн • асѣ ꙗѣ ꙗ ѡт-  
 ѡнѣ ꙗ неѡ рѡѡ пѣѡѡѡс • ꙗ тере ѡѡтѣ *(sic)* е  
 несѡѡѡ • асѡѡѡ ꙗ несѣѡѡѡ есѡ ѡѡѡс • же рѡѡ  
 ꙗѣн | ѡ ꙗнѡѡте ѡ ꙗѣѡѡс ѡкѡр • пе нт  
 аѡѡѡѡ ꙗѣѡт е пѣѣѡѡт еѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗѣ ѡѡ  
 ꙗѡѡѡ • аѡ ꙗтѣнѡѡ а ꙗѡѡѡѡѡн шторѣр •  
 асѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡ рѡ несѣѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ ѡтѡѡѡѡ ере  
 ꙗѡѡс ѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ ѡтѡѡѡ ꙗ кѡѡѡ •  
 аѡ ꙗтѣнѡѡ а несѣѡѡѡ р тѡѡѡ ꙗ кѡ сѡп •  
 асѡѡ е ѡѡ есѡ ѡѡѡс • же ѡѡ ꙗ ꙗнѡѡте  
 ѡ ꙗѣѡѡс ѡкѡр • аѡ асѣ ꙗ рѣѡѡѡѡѡ  
 еѡѡѡѡ е рѡѡн е ꙗѣартѣрѡн • ѡтѡѡѡ ѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡт еѡѡѡѡѡ • еѡ ꙗѣѡѡѡ ѡ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗт  
 асѡѡѡ ꙗѣ • ѡѡѡѡѡ асѡѡ е пѣснѣ ѡѡ не-  
 сѡѡѡ • есѣ ѡѡѡ ѡ ꙗнѡѡте ѡѡ пѣѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ет ѡѡѡѡ •

Оѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ де ѡн пе еѡ ꙗѡ ннтѣ ꙗ кѡ нѡѡ  
 ꙗѡнѡѡѡ • ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡ рѡѡѡѡѡ ѡ ꙗѣ неѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡ • асѡѡѡѡ де ꙗ тере ꙗрѣо ѡнѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡ  
 е ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗт асѡѡѡ ꙗ тѣѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡ рѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ѡ ꙗѣѡѡс ѡкѡр • асѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ • аѡ асѡ



βικτωρ • πετῆ ῥ ρωβ̄ е περσεартһиrиoн • ατω  
πτεrиoт αiλo eиnαт е poч̄ •

Π̄ тере пeнишe Δe cωтē е пaи ατωш̄ е βoλ̄ • жe  
oтā пe пнoтe ā пpαтioc βикτωρ • ατω π̄ тeи ρe  
pиtӣ Δe cпoтaн̄ ā пppō ā eиaи нoтe • eӣ π̄ |  
cоā ā пpαтioc βикτωρ • Δтcиeиe ā пeтaи-  
кoи (sic) eӣ пeтoтcиaстһиrиoн π̄ нoтh̄ eчcотӣ • eӣ  
pишoиe ā eи eиaишe cотнитoт • атетп̄иnαт̄ ω̄ пa  
eиpαтe • жe pишoт нe π̄cоā ā пpαтioc βикτωρ  
пaи eт пpишa пaч̄ ā пoтoт • ατω pωeиe нeи eт  
пaсп̄eωп̄̄ p̄e пeтpиt тһиp̄̄ • кaи eш̄шoиe p̄и  
шoиe нeи • шaч̄xαpиzе пaт̄ ā птaλcо̄ •

Нeт̄ӣ oтpωeиe Δe oи p̄и тeи пoλиc • eтпaтpиkиoc  
пe π̄тe пppoтoт • aπи ρe е pα eш̄шoиe π̄ ат  
тaλcо̄ • aч̄шaaчe тһиp̄̄ π̄cи пeчcωaα • pωcтe  
п̄чpтcот̄ π̄ oтeтaλлoс • Δтo пe oтēeкaρ̄ π̄  
pиt пe пaт̄ е poч̄ p̄и тeи eӣтeβиnи • пeч̄шoиπ  
p̄и oтoλп̄иc • eӣ oтнoт̄ π̄pиcе π̄ атeи pα poч̄ •  
pωcтe н̄т̄ ρe е poч̄ π̄ pα p̄cои eчp̄eиoс • epe  
пeчp̄ēpαλ̄ oλā e p̄oти e poч̄ • ατω шape  
пeчoтpиnтe eӣ п̄ч̄eиeλoс пoρ̄ π̄cетaтo е βoλ̄  
π̄pεпaкaθapcиa eтoш̄ • ατω aч̄† π̄pишoт̄  
π̄xpиeα π̄ π̄cαeи • eӣпe λaαт̄ ā eиoтнeс  
тaч̄poч̄ • eαλλoи Δe a пppoтoт π̄ pωeиn  
т̄иnoot̄ π̄ pεпaρχиp̄iαтpoc е βoλ̄ жe е oтнoт̄  
пe p̄e π̄пaλλa†oи • ατω пeиkoote aтp̄ cпoтaн  
нeи • ατω eӣпe ч̄eтo нλaαт̄ •

Еч̄шoиπ oти p̄e пeи нoт̄ π̄pиcе • aч̄cωтē е тһe  
π̄cоā eӣ пeш̄пнpe eт шoиπ е βoλ̄ p̄e птoпoc̄ •  
ā пpαтioc aπa βикτωρ • a пeчp̄ēpαλ̄ тaλoч̄  
aтeиt̄̄ е птoпoc̄ ā ппeт oтaαb̄ • aтkαaч̄ p̄и oи  
ā пeтoтcиaстһиp̄ioи • ατω пeч̄ш̄ш̄кaк е βoλ̄ ā  
пepoтoт eӣ тeт̄ш̄и • жe пpαтioc βикτωρ • cωш̄т̄  
eч̄ā пa oβ̄b̄iō eӣ пa p̄иcе • н̄т̄ xαpиzе пaи ā





пѣхатъ зѣ тархн ꙗта прѣро ꙗ ꙗаи нѣте  
 константинѣс кон ꙗ ꙗаиртирион ꙗ ꙗаиос  
 апа ѡиктор паи ет ꙗсоотъ е роу ꙗ ꙗоотъ . аѣ-  
 нѣс ꙗ стратилатис де е зраи еѡѡне еѡнаѡтъ .  
 аѡр соѣ ꙗропе ере пѣѣа ꙗ зѣти ꙗтас е  
 роу . ꙗпе ѡѡниѡ . еѡѡон зѣ ꙗѡне ет ѡѡ-  
 ѡотѣ е роу зѣти ꙗаени ꙗе калкиниѡѡа . аѡѡ  
 сѡѡон аѡ ꙗ зѣти еѡѡниартион ꙗ нѣѡ ꙗ  
 ꙗѡа ꙗѡа ꙗ ꙗаени . ꙗпе ꙗаа ꙗ ѡѡѡей  
 тароу . аꙗа неѡѡниатнеѣ е ꙗѡотъ . аѡѡтѡꙗ  
 ꙗе е тѣ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ ꙗ ꙗѡѡнре ет ѡѡон е ѡѡ зѣ  
 ꙗаиртирион ꙗ ꙗаиос ѡиктор зѣ танѡѡѡейа .  
 аѡѡѡоти аѡѡѡн | е танѡѡѡейа . аѡр зѡотъ снаѡ Fol. 36v  
 зѣ ꙗаиртирион ет ꙗѡа ꙗпе ѡѡаѡѣ ꙗ ѡѡ  
 ꙗѡѡѡ . зѣ тѡѡн ꙗе ꙗ ꙗѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ .  
 аѡѡѡи ꙗ апаѡѡѡѡ ѡѡне ꙗѡѡѡ зѣ тѡѡ ꙗ  
 аѡ ѡѡ е роу ꙗ ꙗѡѡтѣ ꙗ тѡѡѡ а ꙗаиос  
 ѡиктор еи ꙗа роу зѣ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ . еѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡт  
 ꙗ ѡѡстратилатис ꙗ ѡѡѡѡ . ере пѡѡѡ неѡ  
 аѡти ꙗ ѡѡѡн е ѡѡ . пѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗе еѡѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡ е ѡѡ зѣ ꙗѡ ѡѡне . тѡѡѡи зѣ  
 ѡѡѡн ꙗѡ ѡѡ е ꙗаиртирион ет ѡѡон зѣ  
 зѡѡѡн . ꙗѡ се ѡѡѡ зѣ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ-  
 тирион . аѡѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ . ѡн ꙗта  
 ꙗаиртирион ет зѣ зѡѡѡн зѡѡѡ . аѡѡ е ꙗѡ ѡѡ .  
 ꙗѡ ѡѡѡи аѡ ꙗе та ѡѡ зѣ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ тириѡ .  
 тѡ ѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡ тѡт ѡнн е ѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡѡ  
 тириѡ . ꙗ ѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ аѡ ꙗ ѡѡтъ снаѡ ѡн  
 ꙗѡ ѡѡѡи аѡ ꙗе тѡ ѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡ тѡт ѡнн е ѡѡ  
 зѣ ꙗа аиртирион . зѡѡѡн ꙗ ꙗ танѡѡѡейа .  
 е тѣ ѡѡ аѡѡѡ ꙗѡ сѡѡѡѡѡ е ѡѡѡ . аѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ . аѡѡ е ꙗѡ ѡѡ .  
 ѡн ꙗѡ ѡѡѡи аѡ ꙗе ѡѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ е таѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ ꙗѡ ѡѡ . аꙗа ꙗ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ аѡ ꙗ ꙗѡ ѡѡ .

ει μη τει η̅ν̅ β̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅ πα̅ μαρτυριον̅ ε̅τ̅ ρ̅η̅  
 ρ̅ω̅μ̅ι̅ν̅ · η̅ν̅ μα̅α̅τε̅ α̅ε̅ π̅τα̅λ̅σο̅ · γε̅ ν̅α̅ς̅ ε̅ρε̅  
 ο̅τ̅ο̅ν̅ η̅μ̅ε̅ ε̅ι̅ε̅ε̅ ε̅ τα̅ σο̅μ̅ι̅ · α̅ψ̅ο̅τ̅ω̅ψ̅η̅β̅ η̅σι̅  
 π̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ ρ̅η̅ ο̅τ̅ε̅σ̅ω̅τ̅ γε̅ πα̅ χο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ η̅τ̅η̅ η̅μ̅ε̅ η̅ τ̅ει̅  
 ρ̅ε̅ · | ε̅ρε̅ π̅ει̅ πο̅ς̅ η̅ ε̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ κ̅ω̅τε̅ ε̅ ρ̅ο̅κ̅ · α̅ψ̅ο̅τ̅ω̅ψ̅η̅β̅  
 γε̅ α̅νο̅κ̅ πε̅ β̅ι̅κ̅τω̅ρ̅ πε̅στ̅ρα̅τ̅η̅λ̅α̅τ̅η̅ς̅ · φ̅η̅πα̅τ̅α̅λ̅σο̅  
 α̅ε̅ πε̅κ̅ω̅μ̅α̅ · η̅τ̅α̅φ̅ α̅ε̅ πο̅τ̅χα̅ι̅ η̅ τε̅κ̅ψ̅τ̅υ̅χ̅η̅ · η̅  
 τε̅τ̅η̅νο̅τ̅ α̅ψ̅η̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ς̅ ε̅ ρ̅ρ̅α̅ι̅ ρ̅η̅ προ̅ρο̅μ̅α̅ · ε̅ψ̅ε̅σ̅ω̅τ̅  
 ε̅μ̅α̅τε̅ :—

Α̅τ̅ω̅ πε̅χα̅ψ̅ · γε̅ α̅λ̅η̅θ̅ω̅ς̅ π̅ρα̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ β̅ι̅κ̅τω̅ρ̅ πε̅ πα̅ι̅  
 η̅τ̅ α̅ψ̅ει̅ ψ̅α̅ ρ̅ο̅ι̅ ε̅ σ̅α̅ε̅ πα̅ ψ̅η̅μ̅ε̅ · η̅ τε̅τ̅η̅νο̅τ̅  
 α̅ψ̅ω̅τ̅ η̅ ρ̅η̅τ̅ α̅τ̅ω̅ πε̅χα̅ψ̅ · γε̅ κ̅ω̅ η̅α̅ι̅ ε̅ β̅ο̅λ̅  
 πα̅ χο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ π̅ρα̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ β̅ι̅κ̅τω̅ρ̅ · γε̅ α̅ι̅α̅μ̅ε̅λ̅ει̅ ε̅ β̅ω̅κ̅  
 ε̅ πε̅κ̅το̅πο̅ς̅ · η̅τ̅ α̅τ̅κ̅ο̅τ̅η̅ η̅ β̅ρ̅ρε̅ ρ̅η̅ τα̅ πο̅λ̅ι̅ς̅ ·  
 α̅ι̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅ π̅ει̅ μ̅α̅ · α̅ψ̅η̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ς̅ δε̅ η̅ πε̅ψ̅ρ̅η̅ε̅ρ̅α̅λ̅ α̅ε̅ π̅η̅α̅τ̅  
 α̅ε̅ πο̅τ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ · α̅η̅ η̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ε̅ η̅τ̅ α̅τ̅ει̅ η̅μ̅ε̅α̅ψ̅ ·  
 α̅ψ̅η̅ω̅ ε̅ ρ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ α̅ε̅ προ̅ρο̅μ̅α̅ η̅τ̅ α̅ψ̅η̅α̅τ̅ ε̅ ρ̅ο̅ψ̅ ·  
 α̅τ̅ω̅ η̅ τ̅ει̅ ρ̅ε̅ α̅ψ̅φ̅ η̅ ρ̅ε̅η̅κ̅ο̅ς̅ η̅α̅ω̅ρ̅ο̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅α̅ι̅η̅τ̅  
 ε̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅η̅ ε̅ πε̅μα̅ρ̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅ ρ̅η̅ τα̅η̅φ̅ο̅υ̅χ̅ει̅α̅ · α̅η̅η̅  
 σ̅ω̅ς̅ α̅ψ̅α̅λε̅ ε̅ π̅χο̅ι̅ · α̅ψ̅ει̅ ε̅ τ̅πο̅λ̅ι̅ς̅ ρ̅ρ̅ω̅μ̅ι̅ν̅ ·  
 α̅ψ̅β̅ω̅κ̅ ε̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅η̅ ε̅ πε̅μα̅ρ̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ α̅ε̅ π̅ρα̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ β̅ι̅κ̅  
 τ̅ω̅ρ̅ · α̅ψ̅ε̅η̅κ̅ο̅τ̅η̅ ε̅ψ̅υ̅ο̅ο̅π̅ ρ̅η̅ ο̅τ̅η̅ο̅ς̅ η̅ ο̅λ̅η̅ψ̅ι̅ς̅ ·  
 α̅τ̅ω̅ πε̅ψ̅ο̅π̅ε̅η̅ α̅ε̅ π̅η̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ α̅ε̅ πε̅μα̅ρ̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅τ̅ ο̅τ̅α̅α̅β̅  
 ε̅ψ̅η̅ω̅ α̅μ̅ε̅ο̅ς̅ · γε̅ πα̅ χο̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ π̅ρα̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ β̅ι̅κ̅τω̅ρ̅ · πε̅  
 η̅τ̅ α̅ψ̅α̅α̅τ̅ η̅ α̅ε̅ψ̅α̅ η̅η̅α̅τ̅ ε̅ πε̅ψ̅ε̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ ρ̅η̅ πε̅ψ̅  
 μα̅ρ̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ ε̅τ̅ ρ̅η̅ τα̅η̅φ̅ο̅υ̅χ̅ει̅α̅ · | α̅κ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅σ̅α̅ρ̅η̅  
 η̅α̅ι̅ ε̅ τ̅ρα̅ ε̅ι̅ ε̅ π̅ει̅ μ̅α̅ · φ̅η̅σ̅τε̅τε̅ πα̅ γε̅ γε̅  
 τε̅κ̅σο̅μ̅ε̅ μ̅ο̅τ̅[ρ̅] ρ̅η̅ π̅κ̅ο̅ς̅μ̅ο̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅η̅ · η̅θ̅ε̅ α̅ π̅ρ̅η̅  
 ε̅τ̅ ρ̅ ο̅τ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ ε̅ το̅ι̅κ̅ο̅τ̅μ̅ε̅η̅η̅ · μα̅ρε̅ πε̅ν̅η̅α̅ τα̅ρ̅ο̅ι̅  
 η̅ν̅ χα̅ρι̅ζε̅ η̅α̅ι̅ α̅ε̅ π̅τα̅λ̅σο̅ · γε̅ α̅ι̅ρ̅ι̅ς̅ε̅ ε̅μ̅α̅τε̅ ·

Α̅τ̅ω̅ η̅ τε̅ρε̅ ψ̅γε̅ η̅α̅ι̅ α̅ψ̅η̅κ̅ο̅τ̅η̅ ε̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ · α̅η̅η̅σ̅ω̅ς̅  
 α̅ψ̅τ̅ρε̅ τ̅ε̅μ̅ε̅ η̅α̅ψ̅ η̅ ο̅τ̅η̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ α̅ε̅ μ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ · ρ̅η̅ π̅λ̅ο̅τ̅  
 τ̅η̅ρ̅ α̅ε̅ πε̅ο̅τ̅ε̅α̅σ̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ · α̅ψ̅ο̅ο̅ψ̅ κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ πε̅ η̅τ̅α̅  
 π̅ρα̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ β̅ι̅κ̅[τ̅ω̅ρ̅] χο̅ο̅ψ̅ η̅α̅ψ̅ · α̅τ̅ω̅ η̅τε̅τ̅η̅νο̅τ̅ α̅

Fol. 36 b

ο̅β̅

Fol. 37 a

ο̅π̅















Λασιωπε δε ἢ τερε ἡβάρβαρος ἐτ' οὐμότε εἰ ποὺ  
 ἔε σαβαν· τωοτῆ ἐξῆ τεχώρα ἥτε ὀρωμμένα·  
 ἐτοῦ ἡε ἄε πῦο ἢ ὁάλασσα· ὄστε ἡσεχι ἢ  
 τῡορῆ ἡὀρωμμένα· ἡσεοῦτε ἢ ὀεεχῆτ' ἐνα-  
 ῡωοτ· εἰ τερε ὄχιορ ἡσεεἰ παπ εἰ ὄλ εἰ τεὀρ-  
 ωμμένα· πλάος δε τῆρῃ ἡῆ τῆτῆκλῆτος· ἡῆ  
 παῡεος τῆρῃ ἢ ὀρωμῆ· ἡῆ ἄε περὶχωρος  
 τῆροτ ἐτ' ὀνῆ εἰ ὄοτῆ· ἡετσοῦτ' <sup>(sic)</sup> ἐτεῖρε ἢ τῆα-  
 ὀλῆκῆς σῆναῖς ὄε πτοπος ἄε πῆατος ἡῆκτωρ·  
 παπ ἐτ' ἡσοοτ' εἰ ροῃ τῆνοτ· ἐρε πῆρο ἄε ἡαἰ  
 ποῡτε ἄεατ ἡῆ πεστратеτῆа ἄεατοἰ· ἔε  
 ἡε πεῡа πε ἄε πῆατος ἡῆκτωρ· ἀτῶ πεре па-  
 еἰωτ ἐπῆοκῆтос ἄεаτ ἡῆ πεκλῆρος τῆρῃ·

ἢ тер οὔαρχεἰ δε εἰ τῆτῆαῖς ὄῆ οὔноσ ἄε  
 φοῡерои· εἰς ἡεσῆἰ ἀτῆῆпоотсот ἄε πῆро·  
 εἰ ὄλ ὄἰ тоотῃ ἢ οὔβелетарῖος εἰ πεсῆан пе-  
 ὄроῡеитос· παп ἡта ἡεπαρχος ἢ τῡορῆ ἢ  
 ὀρωμμένα τῆῆпоотсот паῃ· ἔε тахῆ сῆте  
 πεστратеτῆа ἡῆ тагои ὄῆ οὔсепи· ἡῆ ὄнῆеἰ  
 εἰ ρои· ἔε εἰς ἢ ἡαῡбаρος ἀτῆἰ ἢ τῡορῆ ἡὀαρ-  
 мена· πῆро δε ἀῃштортῆ ὄс тῆтῆот ὄс  
 ρоие· ἀλλά πεре теῃреἰпῑз τῆρεἰ пнх εἰ  
 пхоеἰс·

ἢ τερε ῃωῡ δε ἢ теπстоἰн· ἢ тῆтῆот ἀῃсῆаἰ  
 ἢ ἡεπαρχος ἔε ἄεπῆ ρ ὄте фῆнт ē | ὄтооте Fol. 42 u  
 ἢ ρατε ἡῆ παῡеос τῆρῃ ἢ ἡεὀρωμῆος· ἢ πῆ  
 τερε ἡβелетарῖος χῆ ἢ теπстоἰн ἡῆапахωреἰ·  
 а πῆро ἡῆ πλάος τῆρῃ сωοτ' εἰ ὄοтῆ εἰ πτοπος  
 ἄε πῆατος ἡῆκτωρ· ἡῆ παρχῆтῆскопос ἡῆ  
 πεκλῆρος τῆρῃ· ἀτῆагот ἐхῆἰ пеῡтсῆастῆ-  
 ρои етῆω ἄеос· ἔε πῆατος ἡῆκτωρ пе-  
 стратῆлатῆс· παραкаἰе ἄε πῆοῡте εἰ χωп·  
 ἡῆρ соῡт εἰ тепхώρα· ἔε ἡῆе ἡαῡбаρος ἡат  
 ποῡте σῆсои е ρос· ἀτῶ ἢ теἰ ὄе атеἰре ἢ





[illegible]

Fol. 44a

πζ

πραγος βικτωρ | ιτασανοτασεε αε πκοσεος ειπ  
 πετιρηνητj ε τβε περσεε ε ροτη ε πιτε<sup>ογ</sup> • σωταε ε  
 πανχωσ η

Αποστολος πετρος ερχω αεος γε παρκαλει αε-  
 ωτηι насинт ρωс ιψαεεο • ατω ρωс рαε η σοιλε •  
 ε тре тисаде тнотї е боа η непотεια η сар-  
 кини • και ет фотбе пет αψυχн • отк оти се ω  
 на еераате • анон ρенраε η σοιλε ριχαε пкаρ •  
 отк оти ере прωее μοошегї отρικωп • есесωотρ  
 е ρотн есесот[н] аη γε есесωотρ пїиее • ешге  
 анон ρї ιψαεεο • ατω ρї раε η σοιλε ριχαε  
 пкаρ • еие пет ешге е ρон пе • ē тр ησω енеире  
 αε пееете αε пїиη ша енер • ете теептеро αε  
 п[н]отте те • таї еншандарез е нептоаη ιт  
 асгопот е тоотї • тїпабωк е ρотн е ρос ρї  
 отаиотнес • ιтаσхпо пан е тр ηκλнропоееи  
 αε пкаρ аλλα ē тре пкаρ κλнропоееи αеос •  
 пнι сар ηрωее нїе пе пкаρ • епеї аη ιтаниε е  
 ρотн е пекосеос епρїее • еппабωк он епρїее • |  
 ιтаниε епащароee • еппабωк он епащароee •  
 епеї аη хпн тшорї η отпнот етошнахпе прωее  
 е пкосеос шасρїее • αε ппаσ ае он есїнт е  
 боа ρεε псωма шасρїее • ιтаσхпон е прїсе •  
 еппабωк он е прїсе • και сар ειπ лаат ιта  
 хро ρεε пβїос αε прωее • еї аη теї таλαпωρια  
 ρї αεкаρ η ρнт • ара αεпе ксωтаε е пет снρ •  
 е αепр тре петї ρнт ρрош ρї отсеї ειπ отфре •  
 ειπ ρенроотш ηте пβїос • ηте педоот ет αеаα  
 еї ехωтї ηое η отпащ • сїнт сар ехїη пет-  
 ρеос ρиχαε про αε пкаρ тнрї • еите рро • еите  
 аρχωп • еите рαеаао • еите ρнке • ειπ ота η  
 отωт наρ боа е тапакпн ет αеаα ет еер  
 η ρоте • ηт σωтаε аη е пет снρ γε ειπ хрїеа  
 наф ρнт αеон αε педоот η тортн • шаре

Fol. 44b

πн





[illegible]









[illegible][illegible][illegible]



[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Аѡ ꙗко тебѣ величїе есперїса х҃и ꙗко роушъ ѿ  
печаде тѣхъ • есѡтеже поше ех҃и поше • есѡ  
ѿ печаде е вола • шанте тепрошесїа ѿ псу-



Бре отънос ꙗже оуе кѡте е рокъ . ѿ ꙗже оуѡне  
есдорѡу е жѡкъ . екашарѡе ежѡ ꙗже не ꙗже ѿ



[illegible]

Рои ꙗшире ꙗт аѡте е во ѡ аѡ анон фнаѡлсе  
нетꙗ отѡшсꙗ • сꙗѡ ѡѡѡос рꙗ теѡтапро ет ѡер  
ꙗ ѡпꙗ же ꙗт агеи ан е терѡ ꙗакаѡс ала ꙗ  
ресꙗрпоше еѡметанога • аѡ он же аенитꙗ ша  
рои отон ꙗѡ ет роце аѡ ет отꙗ аѡ анон  
фнаѡ ѡтон ннтꙗ • акнаѡ е теѡ[т]ѡ[г]рѡѡе  
ѡ пноѡте е роѡн е рои ѡ прѡѡе

[illegible]

Епεί αν ήτα πεποφνηтς μεετє е वोλ же ει  
 λαατ η ρηт ρє πβιος є πρωε ηса ρис ρι  
 таλαπωρια • е тве παι αϑηος же етχο є  
 πρωε е ρисе • аτω ере неϑροот отеине ρи  
 отϑепн • ηακαιος де ηтоот • отраще ει  
 ототпоϑ не петβιος тнрϑ • епεί αν ηт  
 атχοот е песеот • етпаβων он е песеот  
 ет жнк е वोλ •

Ἀλλῶς παύτῃ αὐτῷ ὑπεσπείσατο ἡσὶ παῖκατος  
 ἔε αὐτοῦ εἰς κροσσός · παῖ καὶ πε πρῶμε









αὐτῷ τῆπαοῦχαί· ἀπὲρ τρ ἵνα περὶντ εἰς ὅλ  
 ἡτῆσω εἰρ ποῖε· ἡσεύτην οὖν οὐσην ἢ ὥσπ·  
 ἡτῆβωκ οὖν οὐσην εἰς οὐακαρ ἢ οὐτ· ἀλλὰ  
 παρα οὐκοῦτ' αἰβωκ οὖν κε σκαεεα· αἶρ πωβῶ  
 ἢ ἡσое εἰς περπире αἶ πρατός βικτωρ·  
 παί εἶτ ἡρ ὡα παρ ἀποοῦ· εα περοτο ἢ πεна-  
 мелева ентῇ εἰς οὐαί εἰς περ нос ἢ αἶκαρ ἢ οὐт·  
 ρосте ἡτῆρ πωβῶ αἶ πεстратилаѣс ет таиѣт·  
 Καί τар па лас σοxῆ εεαате· αὐτῷ εἰς сое  
 αἶεοι εἶω αἶ ποῖе птѣа ἢ некаретн· ἀλλὰ αἶ  
 песеот ἢ οὐρωεε еснаѣ пероѣои етнос  
 αἶ пелаѣос· ἢ οὐтнос αἶ птѣн· λοιπον ὡαρε  
 εἰς роу ерѣωλῶ αὐτῷ ерпωнѣ ἡса птѣн· есѣебе  
 εἰς οὐаί εἰς περοѣ· таί τε таде ρω ἢ надрῆ ἡкат-  
 оѣωма αἶ пет αἶеат· καί τар ἡт агархеі  
 εἰς ὡахе εἰς персое εἰς πεрпире ἡтаѣаѣт·  
 οὖν тархн αἶ перенѣωион· λοιπον αὐторпѣ  
 ραἶ па носε εἰς па меете εἰς тра ὡахе пѣ-  
 ентῇ εἰς потѣаі ἢ нет αἶ ψѣхн· ραἶ пернос  
 ἡша· енсоотн же πρατός βικτωρ раше ехῆ  
 ἡшахе ἢ тѣбѣ· ет ἡхω αἶеоот еεεаахе  
 пѣеаасѣω ραἶ пей енѣωиѣон· плни ἢ тере  
 енаѣт εἰς περοѣ αἶ пѣаос етѣокῶ ἢ οὐт· αὐτῷ  
 етрѣе ехῆ ἡшахе ἢ тѣбѣ ет ἡхω αἶеоот·— | Fol. 54b  
 Αἶρ ρоте xῆ ἡне іѣ ἢ οὐѣнѣ αἶ пѣаос ραἶ пей ре  
 нос ἢ ὡа ἀποοῦ· αἶкте ποῖеі αἶ па лас· ε  
 трахω εἰς ρѣтῇ ἢ ρенѣоῦт ἡсое ἡт αὐшѣпе  
 ραἶ перѣартнрѣон· паі ἡт аиѣѣт εἰς роот οὖν  
 наѣаλ· етѣоот αἶ ппѣте· паі ет ѣ еоот ἢ  
 нет ѣ еоот паѣ· ѣепѣѣеі меи εἰς таѣ ρен-  
 ѣоῦт οὖν перѣаторѣωма· ἀλλὰ ѣапѣреі же  
 εἰς сое αἶ па лас εἰς таѣѣ кѣта перѣпша·  
 καί τар непеѣѣте ἡѣеоѣѣѣос ἡепѣскопѣс·  
 ἡтаѣшѣпе ρа та οὐт ете паі не· етсеѣѣс εἰς

ιουλιος· ειπ̃ εννοκενθος· και διδασκαλος  
 ημων· ετ̃ φορει̃ α̃ πνοτε· α̃ ροιη̃ π̃οντο̃  
 ρι̃ το̃το̃ ε̃ ψα̃ξε̃ ε̃ πενταδ̃· ειπ̃ νευ̃πире̃ ет  
 ενε̃ире̃ α̃μο̃ο̃ ρ̃α̃ πε̃κε̃αρ̃ти̃ρ̃и̃он̃· α̃τω̃ α̃п̃ ο̃τε̃ψ̃  
 τα̃ε̃ π̃χω̃κ̃ η̃ πε̃κα̃ρε̃тн̃· ειπ̃ πε̃κε̃α̃ει̃н̃· πο̃σο̃  
 α̃α̃λ̃λ̃ων̃ α̃п̃ο̃κ̃ και̃ ρ̃ι̃α̃ι̃ο̃тн̃с̃ η̃ ε̃β̃и̃н̃ ет̃ со̃ψ̃·—  
 Ε̃п̃α̃ψ̃χω̃ω̃ε̃ η̃ α̃ψ̃ η̃ ρ̃ε̃ α̃ π̃πε̃λα̃τος̃ η̃ πε̃κ̃να̃  
 το̃ρω̃α̃· ε̃ т̃η̃ε̃ πα̃ι̃ ρ̃ω̃ α̃ι̃κα̃ па̃ т̃η̃ε̃ ρ̃и̃п̃  
 ρ̃ω̃и̃· ε̃ι̃со̃ο̃тн̃ же̃ ειπ̃ ε̃ο̃ι̃ α̃μο̃ι̃ ε̃χω̃· η̃ τε̃κ̃-  
 α̃ω̃ρε̃α̃· α̃α̃λ̃и̃ста̃ π̃ψ̃ω̃н̃е̃ ет̃ πο̃ρ̃ψ̃ ε̃ β̃ο̃λ̃ ε̃χ̃и̃  
 η̃α̃ο̃т̃р̃и̃те̃ ка̃та̃ ка̃ι̃ρο̃с̃· α̃κ̃т̃р̃ѣ̃са̃и̃ ρ̃и̃ ж̃ω̃и̃ ρ̃и̃т̃и̃  
 η̃ε̃к̃п̃ре̃с̃в̃и̃а̃ ет̃ ο̃та̃α̃β̃· ε̃п̃ε̃и̃ α̃н̃ ο̃т̃и̃ο̃с̃ те̃ τε̃χ̃α̃-  
 ρ̃и̃с̃ η̃та̃ π̃но̃т̃е̃ та̃α̃с̃ η̃α̃к̃· α̃ψ̃ка̃ και̃ α̃ει̃н̃  
 η̃та̃λ̃ε̃ο̃ ε̃т̃ε̃и̃н̃ ε̃ β̃ο̃λ̃ ρ̃α̃ πε̃κε̃αρ̃ти̃ρ̃и̃он̃· η̃ε̃-  
 по̃ ε̃т̃ψ̃α̃ξε̃· η̃ε̃α̃λε̃ ε̃т̃α̃μο̃ο̃ψ̃е̃· η̃ε̃т̃ со̃β̃ε̃ т̃η̃β̃ο̃·  
 η̃α̃α̃и̃ο̃п̃и̃он̃ к̃и̃ο̃т̃же̃ α̃μο̃ο̃т̃ ε̃ β̃ο̃λ̃· η̃ε̃т̃ α̃μο̃ο̃т̃  
 к̃т̃ο̃т̃н̃ο̃с̃ α̃μο̃ο̃т̃· ρ̃и̃т̃и̃ т̃и̃ο̃с̃ η̃ α̃ω̃ρε̃а̃ η̃та̃  
 π̃но̃т̃е̃ ка̃α̃с̃ ε̃с̃ε̃и̃н̃ ε̃ β̃ο̃λ̃ ρ̃и̃ πε̃κε̃αρ̃ти̃ρ̃и̃он̃·  
 ο̃т̃ α̃ο̃п̃и̃н̃ же̃ π̃α̃α̃ ет̃ е̃ρε̃ πε̃κ̃ω̃α̃ η̃ ρ̃и̃т̃ѣ̃  
 α̃α̃та̃α̃ψ̃· πε̃ρε̃ και̃ α̃ει̃н̃ η̃ т̃ε̃и̃ α̃и̃не̃ | α̃и̃н̃ ε̃  
 β̃ο̃λ̃ η̃ ρ̃и̃т̃ѣ̃· α̃λ̃λ̃а̃ το̃πο̃с̃ η̃и̃ε̃ ρ̃α̃ π̃κο̃с̃ε̃ο̃с̃  
 т̃и̃ρ̃ѣ̃· ε̃т̃ο̃т̃η̃α̃та̃ε̃ πε̃κ̃ρα̃н̃ ε̃ ж̃ω̃ψ̃ και̃ α̃ει̃н̃  
 и̃н̃н̃ ε̃ β̃ο̃λ̃ π̃ρ̃и̃т̃ο̃с̃ т̃и̃ρ̃ο̃с̃· же̃ ка̃с̃ ε̃т̃ε̃т̃η̃ε̃и̃ε̃  
 же̃ т̃α̃ε̃ те̃ †̃χω̃ α̃ε̃ο̃с̃ η̃и̃т̃и̃·

Fol. 55 a  
 ρε

Σ̃ω̃т̃α̃ та̃ж̃ω̃ ε̃ ρ̃ω̃т̃и̃ η̃ т̃ε̃и̃ πο̃с̃ η̃ψ̃п̃и̃[н]ре̃  
 ε̃т̃ε̃ο̃ο̃т̃ α̃ π̃но̃т̃е̃ ειπ̃ π̃ρα̃т̃и̃ο̃с̃ β̃и̃к̃т̃ω̃ρ̃· η̃ε̃т̃и̃  
 ο̃т̃ρ̃ω̃и̃ε̃ ρ̃и̃ т̃ε̃и̃ πο̃λ̃и̃с̃ ε̃т̃и̃та̃ψ̃ α̃ε̃α̃т̃ η̃ ο̃т̃и̃ο̃с̃  
 η̃к̃т̃и̃с̃и̃с̃· ειπ̃ ρ̃ε̃п̃к̃т̃η̃ε̃а̃ ε̃п̃α̃ψ̃ω̃ο̃т̃· ειπ̃ ρ̃ε̃п̃-  
 про̃β̃а̃с̃т̃он̃ ειπ̃ ρ̃ε̃п̃ε̃а̃ η̃ ε̃λ̃ο̃ο̃λε̃· πα̃и̃ α̃ε̃ ο̃та̃α̃-  
 ε̃ο̃с̃ ε̃α̃α̃α̃те̃ пе̃ α̃ α̃α̃и̃ ρ̃и̃ке̃· α̃τω̃ η̃ε̃т̃и̃та̃ψ̃ α̃ε̃α̃т̃  
 η̃ ο̃т̃и̃ο̃с̃ α̃ π̃и̃с̃т̃и̃с̃ ε̃ ρ̃ο̃т̃и̃ ε̃ π̃ρα̃т̃и̃ο̃с̃ β̃и̃к̃т̃ω̃ρ̃·  
 ρ̃ω̃с̃те̃ ка̃та̃ ρ̃ο̃и̃п̃е̃ ψ̃α̃ψ̃† η̃ ρ̃ε̃п̃α̃ψ̃и̃ η̃ η̃р̃и̃ ε̃  
 ρ̃ο̃т̃и̃ ε̃ π̃т̃ο̃πο̃с̃· ε̃ т̃ре̃ т̃ε̃т̃η̃α̃ε̃ π̃ρ̃и̃т̃ο̃с̃· α̃τω̃  
 η̃с̃ε̃ж̃ω̃ ε̃ β̃ο̃λ̃ ε̃ η̃ε̃т̃ ψ̃ω̃н̃е̃ π̃ρ̃и̃т̃ο̃с̃· ειπ̃ η̃ε̃т̃





фронейсис· ρῆ ὁττοοτ δε ε ἡολ ρῆ ὁττοοτ·  
 а непрагматеттис еі· атеиіе нац ἡ οταшῆ  
 ἡ ποτῆ· ε третшоп ἡ πεчнрῆ· аτω арге е  
 роот атако емаате· аџион· аџр чнῆ:—  
 аџр шпире емаате· мпнсѡс аџѡшн ἡ про  
 ἡ не апоѡтнн· арге е роот он еттоот пара  
 наі:— | ραπλѡс аѡмешῆ ἡ нрῆ тнрот· арге Fol. 56 b  
 е роот сатр аτ шат· аτω пѣхат нац· же ρῆ  
 аλнѡс тнр шпире ἡ неі нрῆ· же оѡ пе нт  
 ацшѡпе ἡмоот· жн та пекейѡт ρ макаріос·  
 арнѡ нтавнатафроней ἡмоот· ἡмон нтн-  
 соотн ан же нтаѡшѡпе ἡмоот· ἡ теі ρе  
 се а непрагматеттис чі нноτῆ ἡ тоотῆ·  
 аѡктоот ететпатріс· нтоц де ацѡс ецлѡпей  
 емаате аτω еѡрѡнѡе·

Мпнса ρенроот де аѡаісѡане е пноѡе нтаѡац·  
 же пратіос внктѡр пе нтаѡтане неѡценнѡа ἡ  
 тоотῆ· же аѡна[та]фроней н теѡпросфора ет  
 ѡѡаѡ· аτω неѡшѡ ἡмоос же ѡѡі наі· же  
 ἡпе ісѡтἡ нса пшѡже ἡ па еіѡт аλла а  
 теіптеаіѡтἡ ρѡѡ тѡа ἡ наѡаλ· аіѡшѡш еѡн  
 теѡпросфора ἡ пѡартѡрос ἡ тоотῆ· еіс ρнῆте  
 аѡтакѡ ἡ паѡеннѡа тнрῆ ἡ тоот· енаѡр ѡѡ  
 жн теѡѡт ἡ ѡсоотн ан·

Зн теѡшн ет ἡмаѡт· а пратіос внк[ѡр] еі шѡ  
 прѡае ρῆ ѡтноѡ ἡ еѡѡт ἡ аτ шѡже е роц·  
 аτω пѣхѡц нац ρῆ ѡтноѡ ἡ апеіλн· же епеі  
 ан а теіптеаіѡѡнῆ тѡа ἡ неѡаλ· аѡѡар-  
 паѡе ἡ теѡпросфора ет ере пекейѡт † моос ἡ  
 пноѡте ρἡ па ран· еіс ρнῆте ρѡѡт он апа-  
 тасе ἡ пѡценнѡа тнрῆ· аітре ѡѡ ѡон  
 ρі λѡае· аτω †напѡтасе ἡ неѡѡ н еλѡѡле  
 тἡ † карпос е тἡе текѡλѡнрѡа· аτω нѡѡн  
 ρѡѡн· аіеі же еіпе е ѡѡн ἡ ѡтноѡ ἡ λѡпн ἡ

Fol. 57 a

pī

тапатассе ааааа нѣ ааа • пса внл же аір |  
пееее п такалостни аа пекейот • плнн  
 епей ан аккатафронеи п тепросфора аа па  
топос • аиок рѡ фнатре пекнрп тирот тако •  
прѡае ае ацштортѣ пехац • же па хоис птн  
наа п теи ре ере пей нос п еоот кѡте е рок •  
ацотѡщѣ же аиок пе вктѡр пестратилатис  
аиок пе птаисаа енотсиа аа пекейот • аита  
шѡц рѡа песотѡ аа пнрп • аикѡѣ нац п песч  
хринеа аа песчѣнооте • аа песчотпархѡн[та]  
тирот • е тѣе аа аитна ет ѣире ааааа аа  
пнне • аа непросфора ет ѣѣ ааааа аа  
пнотте рѡа па ран • птон ае епей ан аапе  
кѡтаа пса пекейот • отѡае аапе кр пееее  
п ѡте аа пнотте • аааа акпотааѡе е рѡѣт  
п тепросфора аа па аартнрѣон • аиок рѡ  
аитѡѡѣе нак • аитако аа пекрисе • а пет снѡ  
жѡн е ѡл е жѡн • же шаре отполис ѡврѡ  
ежп тапѣтрѡа п рнт п отѡѡре • шашѡршот  
рот ае он е тѣе тапѣт ат ѡнт п отатѡнт :—

П тере прѡае ае сѡтаа е наи ацпаѡтѣ ежѡ  
песѡ еѡѡ аааа же кѡ наи е ѡл па жѣ  
паартѡрос ет ѡтааѣ • аір ноѣе пара пшп п  
тапѣтрѡае тирс • аапѣ ѣи ѡп пѡааа е тѣе  
та аапѣт ат рнт • аѡѡ фнашѡпе нак п отѡѡѡл  
есѡнѡт пѡе аа па еѡт • ша перѡот аа па ааа •  
фѡааааааа аа пекѡот ет ѡтааѣ же екшашпѣ  
рѡнн е жѡи нѣ кѡ наи е ѡл п татааааа :— |  
фнаѣ п таѡѡе п наѡтсиа аа наѡеннаа е  
рѡтн е пектопос те роапе • тѡе паѡѡе енаан  
ааааа аа тѡнѡнѡ п наертатис • аѡѡ он  
пнѡе аапѣтна ет ере па еѡт еире ааааа п  
пнне • фна отѡѡ е жѡот • пѡѡе ппет ѡтааѣ  
нац же а пнотте ѣи пекноѡе аааа • аѡѡ

Fol. 57 b

pīa







Λοις οὐ τῆς αἰτοῦ πῦρ περ ἔα · καὶ ἀ-  
 πνατὸ ὥσπερ ἡτῆταρο ἐστὶν ὅρα ἡ θερμὸς φῶς ἐ-  
 σταθῇ · ἐπεὶ ἂν πῦρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ὅλα ἡ τοῦ  
 ἐπεὶ οὐ · ἀλλὰ γενεῇ αἰῶνος καὶ πῦρ



ἡσέτω ἡ εὐχὴ ἡ πατρὶς πενήρο πεχῆ· ἡκω  
 παῖ εὐχὴ ἡ παρὼς ἐτ' οὐκ ἀπὸ ἡκῶ ὅσα πατρὶς  
 ὅσα περὶ ἡ πατρὶς πᾶσι·—

ἀποκ' ἰωσήφ πελαχίς ἡ ταλαπῶρος· πῶς ἡ  
 πελαχίς ἐστὶν ἡ πατρὶς· πατρὶς ἀπὸ ἡ  
 ἐκκλησία· ἡ πατρὶς ἰωσήφ πᾶσι τῶν  
 ἐκκλησίας· πατρὶς ἡ πατρὶς·—

Ζωκρὶ ἐλαχιστοῦ διακονοῦ παῖς τοῦ  
 Ἰωσήφ διακονοῦ εὐξασθε ὑπὲρ μου  
 ὁ τλαὸς βαρὰ χεῖς ἡ

—...—...—...—...—...—...—

εὐχαριστοῦ μηνι φαρμουτι. ιη. διοκλ' χξξ:

# THE LIFE OF SAINTS EUSTATHIUS AND THEOPISTE AND THEIR TWO CHILDREN

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

Fol. 1 a

α

ΠΒΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΗΟΛΥΤΑ Π ΠΠΕΤ ΟΥ-  
ΛΑΒ ΑΠΑ ΕΥСТАΘΙΟΣ· ΠΕСТРАТНАΛ-  
ΤΗΣ Η ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ΠΗ ΘΕΟ-  
ΠΙСТΗ ΤΕΥСЗШЕ ΠΗ ΑΓΑΠΙΟΣ ΠΗ  
ΘΕΟΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΗΨΥΗΡΕ ΗΤΑΥΧШК Ε ΒΟΛ  
Π ΠΕΥΑΓШН ЗН ТНОС Η ΠΟΛΙС ЗРШН  
ЗН СОУ ΧΟΥШТ Π ΠΕВОТ ΘШΘ ЗІ  
ТРАΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΡΡΟ ЗН ОΥΕΙРΗНН ЧӨ

Fol. 1 b

б

Чкнс зраг и прѡмее ет оѡааб иси оѡаа и  
жисѡ епа тефѡсис не · ии тепрогаиресис не ги  
отсон апоѡмеротс · еснаторѡот и таретн ·  
аѡ есѡтѡш е тсаѡе нет зитѡѡѡ зити икооте  
итатѡѡпе жин и шорп · наг ет шп зѡот и  
тоотѡ · а прѡр пет наѡтѡ нап тнрп · жин  
и шорп пенѡтте аѡ пенжс ис пеѡс · наг  
ет ѡѡи а (?) паїтеї аѡи аѡот ·—еиѡаже  
аа иитрѡ шп зѡот · аѡи нете ѡрпет нап  
и пїтаѡ е ратѡ зѡѡ де | он не иѡаа-  
скаѡа ии непразис и прѡмее иѡѡѡре аѡ  
аа макаріос ет кн нап е зраг зп не графн ет  
ѡаааб · иѡе и зенѡиѡи етѡ отѡѡѡхн аѡот · е  
тре нет ѡѡш е ѡаѡѡт иѡѡѡт · тїтѡѡѡт енет-  
наторѡѡа ет таинѡ етѡ тре ѡѡѡпе етѡѡѡ  
е роѡт зити тетѡитѡѡѡре · аѡѡк де ѡѡ нет ег-

[illegible][illegible]

Зѣи тѣптеро ꙗ траг[а]нос прро етеере тѣпт-  
рѣшѣше еѡлон снр асѣбѣеоме . ꙗси от-  
страфлатис е пецран пе плантас . Бѣрни  
е роти е прро ецтанѣ де е перото рѣе пец-  
ченос ката пей носмос . аѡ не отрѣѣмо  
ееате пе . есѣотѣ ꙗ ꙗнос тирос ѣꙗ ппаλλα-  
фон рѣи некнисе пиотѣ ѣꙗ прат ренрегал  
епашѡот ѣꙗ пке сепе ꙗꙗ|постасе . пе Fol. 26  
отрѣлли пе рѣи теѣориска . есѣносме де рѣи ѡ  
перѣнте ꙗ таиналостин . пет рнш ꙗꙗвонѣе е













шопе ҃҃ ппарадїсѡс ететнар̃ пееете ꙗ̃ те-  
 цѣхъ ꙗ̃ іωданинѣс · пел елаχїстѡс ꙗ̃ еѡнн ·  
 Стоѡте де ꙗ̃ тере цшопе · ацѣ ꙗ̃ етстаѡс  
 ꙗ̃ ҃҃҃҃҃҃҃ · ацѣѡн е птоѡ ацѣѡн е ҃҃҃҃ е  
 пееа ꙗ̃ тацнаѡ е топтасїа ꙗ̃ ҃҃҃҃ · ацѣѡѡт  
 де пееаѡт ꙗ̃ тлоїсе ꙗ̃ ѡѡр̃ е ꙗ̃ѡн · ꙗ̃ѡт Fol. 7 a  
 де ацѣѡ ꙗ̃ ѡтѡтї маѡац · еѡпесѡс ацѣ ꙗ̃  
 пецѡѡт · ацѣ҃҃҃҃ е ҃҃҃҃ е пееа ꙗ̃ тацнаѡ е  
 птѡпѡс ꙗ̃ шор̃ ꙗ̃ ҃҃҃҃ · ацпаѣтѣ еѡп пецѡ  
 ацѡш е ѡл еѣѡ ҃҃҃҃ же пѣс аїеїе же  
 ꙗ̃ѡт пел пѣс пшнре ҃҃ пнѡте ет ѡн̃ аѡ  
 аїїетете е рѡк еѡ пекелѡт ꙗ̃ аѣѡс еѡ  
 пепн̃ ет ѡѡаѡ · тѡѡт ѡе Тѡпс̃ ҃҃҃҃ ·  
 еѡѡе аѡаѡт пѡпш̃ ꙗ̃ теѣарїс · ет ѡѡаѡ ꙗ̃ те  
 тѡпнѡте · тѡѡѡ е пел пѡѡѡѡт пѡ ·  
 ꙗ̃ теѡѡт де а пѣс ѡѡш̃ пѡѡѡ пѡѡ же  
 пѡѡт̃ ѡ пѡѡѡтас ꙗ̃ѡт же аѡѡп е рѡк  
 ҃҃ пѡѡѡ ꙗ̃ теѣарїс · аѡт ҃҃ѡѡ ꙗ̃ тѡп̃ аѡ  
 тако ет еѡн е ѡл ш̃а епѡ · тѡѡт ѡе аѡѡ-  
 ѡн̃ е ѡл ꙗ̃ ѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗ̃ тѡп̃ · епел аѡ пѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡс ꙗ̃ аѡѡпел е рѡк же аѡѡѡ ꙗ̃ ѡѡ ·  
 аѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ е р̃ ѡѡтї пѡ нѡт̃ ѡѡѡ ·  
 ҃҃ѡѡ ѡѡ етѡѡѡ ҃҃ ҃҃ ҃҃ ҃҃ пѡѡѡѡс · | еѡ- Fol. 7 b  
 ѡѡ ҃҃ѡѡѡѡ е рѡѡт нѡѡѡ ҃҃ пѡѡѡ ҃҃ ꙗ̃  
 пѡѡ · еїс ҃҃ѡѡ аѡѡѡ еѡѡте ҃҃ пѡѡѡѡ  
 ҃҃ пѡѡѡ ш̃а ҃҃ѡѡ тѡѡт · еѡ тѡп̃ѡѡѡѡ ·  
 ҃҃ пѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ·

Пѡлн ѡн ꙗ̃ р̃ рѡѡѡѡ ҃҃ пѡѡѡ ҃҃ пѡѡѡ ·  
 еѡр̃ р̃ ѡѡ тѡѡт ѡѡѡ еѡр̃ѡѡт̃ ꙗ̃ пѡѡр̃  
 пѡѡт ҃҃ пел ѡѡѡс · пѡ ет ѡѡѡ пѡ ꙗ̃  
 шор̃ · аѡѡ ꙗ̃ ꙗ̃ѡѡѡѡѡ е ѡл ꙗ̃ ѡѡѡ  
 ҃҃ пѡѡѡ · екѡѡѡѡ · екѡѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ̃ ѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡѡ · ѡѡѡѡ де ѡн ѡѡѡ  
 ѡѡ ꙗ̃ ѡѡѡ ꙗ̃ ѡѡѡ · ѡѡѡ пѡѡѡ











пѡрѣ · ѿѡбъ жеи Оуїтаꙋ ꙗаѡ ꙗ ꙗꙋшнре  
е҃соꙋсѣ ꙗаѡꙋ · а҃ѡ е҃ѡшпрісе ꙗааꙋꙋ ·  
а҃ноꙋ де а неѡнріон ꙋї ꙗсоꙋсѣ ꙗ ꙗа шнре  
ꙗ ꙗоот ·

Ешѣ ашѡот ꙗ неклазос ѿ пет ѿааш ешѣ  
енѣшнре • снат е тноне есшооп нѿеащ ете  
тѣсрѣе те • есо насъ ѿ парокоріа • кан ешѣ  
асслаате рѡс срѣе рѣ отѣше • апон рѡ пеи  
евини атперѣ та нотне ꙗ саца ние • ꙗ фнат  
ан е лаат ꙗ авѣн • ꙗ отоеин ꙗте тлаелас  
ѿ на ценос • алла ею ѿ пееот ꙗ отѣни  
есрѣе пхале • еркѣе е роу ꙗ нат ние • рѣтѣ  
ѡатнт ѿ патаболос • ѿпѡр пхоис ѿпр ѿекѣ  
пекрѣрал ето | прар ꙗ шѣе • егато н на ет  
препей ан елеекѣ ꙗ рнт • кѡ се пхѣ ꙗ отрарео  
рѣрѣ рѡи • ашѡ отро ештѣхнт • рѣрѣ на спо-  
тот • хе кас ꙗне па рнт рактѣ е бол е ден-  
шѣе етроот • нѣ нохѣ е бол ꙗ надрѣе пекро  
† ѿтон се на пхѣ.

[illegible]

Fol. 11 b

 $\overline{KB}$

τῶν τρε παλλοφτ|λος ετ ἡματ χωρ ε ρος Fol. 12 a  
ε πτηρῆ K<sup>α</sup>

[illegible]

аѣѡне ꙗꙑре ꙗꙑнеонрон е тѣе па рѣнте  
 еѡѡт. маѣе паꙑ рѡ е трапаѣ е роѡт рѣ  
 танаѣѣе |

Fol. 13 a  
**RE**

Өтегі де естадо иі наі иісі естадоіос · аҫωтәі  
 оҫсеі есхω ҕеіос наҫ же тωк иі ҕнт ω еста-  
 доіос ҕраі ҕеі петодоіш · — кнашωпе ҕиі тек-  
 катастасіс иі шорі · ашω кнаш иітһсҕеіе  
 иіі некшнре · — ҕиі тапастасіс иі пет ҕоот  
 кнапат епастадои иі ша енеҕ · ҕепр арна се  
 ҕеіос · ашω кнашне иі отанапатсіс иі ат ωш ·  
 ашω некран нааҕзәне ша жωе иіе иі жωе ·  
 иі тере ҫсωтәі де е наі аҫрроте аҫеіошје е  
 пе снт ҕеі пее ет ҕеіа · еиҫ иі ҕнтҫ аҫаҕе  
 ратҫ ҕитωωот ҕиі тегін ҕепе ҕето е бол ·  
 аҫсотωиот ҕиі отωр · иітоот де ҕеп от-  
 сотωиҫ · пеза ҫ наҫ же пешвнр иіон иітоҫ  
 ҕωωҫ пезаҫ на ҫ же фрнн иітї на сінт ·  
 пеза ҫ наҫ же енексотї ҕеі пег шҕеіо иі рωе ·  
 ҕеі пег ҕа етеотте е роҫ же плакнтас · иіі  
 теҫсҕеіе · иіі иҫшнре · наі екшантәіон е  
 роҫ тїнаті на к иі ҕениос иі хрнеа · иітоҫ  
 де пезаҫ на · же ететїшне иісωҫ е тһе от  
 иі ҕωб · иітоот де пеза ҫ наҫ же пешвнр пе ·  
 ашω еіс ҕаҕ иі роіе тїотωш е апанта е роҫ ·  
 пезаҫ на ҫ же иі ҫсотї ан ҕеі прωе · ҕетон  
 се | ҕеіωтї ҕаҕтн же а лна ҫ прокопте ·  
 иітетїанапате ҕеіωтї ҕаҕтн ҕеі пег ҕа е  
 ҫсалаωот е роҫ · наі ҫар ант отшҕеіо ҕω ·

Fol. 13 b  
RC

Аѡ асѣитѡ е догн е пѣни асѣѡн еѡѡп п  
 ѡнрп е третсоу • пѣау ѡ пѣ ѡ пни етеу  
 п рнтѣ же нег рѡеѣ фсоотн ѡѡѡѡѡ е тѣе паг  
 птаѣг ѡа рог е нег ѡа фѣнаг п ѡѡре ѡп  
 ѡнрп псеѣтѡн ѡѡѡѡѡ рдгтн ѡ нег ѡа •  
 аѡ фнаф пак птеѡѣен рѡ пкагрос ѡ па-

[illegible]

ПТОУ ДЕ АЧАРНА ЖЕ МММОН АТΩ АЧАММДТЕ ММ  
МОУ Е ТМ РМММ : П тер отф пмаем де нац М  
 псащ ет ги пеммак̄. атω атωр̄ е роу же  
 пток пе плавнтас пестрафлатис. атω атж-  
 ноту е тве тецсрмме мп пемшнре. пемачу наџ  
 же атмоу. етеи де | ецшаже ММММАТ ги наг. Fol. 14 b  
 атџи граџ е вола гп относ п сен. атрмме ММ  
 ммате шанте пет гм пфен тнрот сџтм е  
 роот. етеи де еџашкан е вола атџи пџи на  
 пфме е наџ е пе итац шопе. атω атрроте  
 атшторт̄р. МММАТОИ ДЕ АТКАТАСФЛЕ М п-  
 шторт̄р атжω е роот. птаретн М прмм мп  
 пемтаю п шорп. п теротсџтм де е наг пџи  
 прмм М пфме аташадом еџω ММОС. же





Fol. 16 b

λβ

εϑαναπατε αλλου ειπ πεϑστρατε~~τα~~α ρως ερε  
 πεα ет αλλατ ρ шат ετανα/πατсic · Αϑυωπε  
 δε он ραε πκτοпс ет αλλατ · παг ет ере теϑ-  
 сrиe и ρнт~~т~~ · аτsoιλε δε ρωот иσι πορ~~р~~шре  
 снат е тесктин и тeт~~α~~αατ · и тере ппaт де  
αε μεере шωпе · аτ~~ρ~~μoос аτ~~ж~~ω и пeр~~б~~нте и  
 тeт~~α~~итшре шнe eнeтepнt · eнeтcoотн тap  
 ан же ере тeт~~α~~αατ ραε пeα ет αλλατ · oт~~д~~e  
 нсecoотн ан и нe нтaтшωпе αλλooт ·

Тeт~~α~~αατ де нсeρμoос eсxи cян е нeт oт~~ж~~ω  
αλλooт · пнос де и сон пeжaч αε пкoтi же αε  
 пeотoеиш и та иитшре шнe и фeиpe ан  
αε пeеетe и λaαт иca пaг αλλαтe же пa eиoт  
 oтcтpaтнλaтнc пe · аτω та ααατ oтcρиe тe  
 eнecωc ααтe · аτω oт~~и~~тaч αλλαт и шнpe  
 снат пoтa μeи пкoтi е poг пe · eϑтpeшpωш  
ραε пeϑчω · аτω eнecωч ραε п~~т~~ρo · аτ~~ж~~i α-  
 μoи aтeи e бoλ ραε пeпнi и oтoтшн aтaλo  
 н~~α~~ααн eт~~ж~~oг и фcoотн ан же eнeбoк e тoн ·  
ραε п тp иeг де e пeρo ρг п~~ж~~oг a та αααт oт  
 ρг п~~ж~~oг ααтaαc и фcoотн ан же e т~~б~~e oт | и  
 ρωωб · Αλλa a пeи eиoт ψиτ~~и~~ αε пeснат aϑ-  
 μooшe eϑpиe · и тepe ψeг Δe eх~~и~~ oтeтepo  
αλλooт aϑ~~ж~~ioop αλλooч ειп пa кoтi и сон ·  
 aпoк де aϑ~~ж~~ω αλλooг ραε пeг ca αε пeooт ·  
 eϑпaктoч де eϑиτ aтeooтi ψoн~~т~~ иcoг aϑ~~ж~~иτ  
 aϑ~~ж~~μooшe н~~α~~αα~~и~~ e ρoтн e п~~ж~~aie eре ρeпшooс  
 де μoone и ρeпecoот ραε пeα ет αλλαт aт~~ж~~иτ  
и тoот~~т~~ αε пeooтi · aтcaпoтш~~т~~ ραε пeα ет  
αλλαт · пaг пe фcoотн αλλooч · аτω и фcoотн  
 ан же итa oтшωпe αε пa кoтi н сон ειп пa  
 eиoт · пaг де eϑcωт~~α~~e e poот и тoот~~т~~ αε пeϑ-  
 нoс и сон · aϑoн~~к~~ч e ρpaг aϑpиe · аτω  
 пeжaч же итoк пe пa сон · aтeиe тap ρиτ~~и~~

Fol. 17 a

λσ



Өтеі де есшотъ е наі п̄сі течеааѡ асеіе же  
 несшнре не рѣтѣ не нт аѡхооѣ . е тѣе несшнр  
 п̄ ѡалласа рѣ пхоі аѡ . несшѡ ѡеос рѣраі п̄  
 рѣнтѣ . | же ара на шнре не наі жнн ѡеон . Fol. 17 b  
 Ара сесшот п̄ теі де п̄сі на шнре . п̄лнн асѣ-  
 наѡ . п̄ рѣнт есшате . аѡ а нессплахнон  
 штортѣр еснаѡ е п̄шнре шннн еѡролѣ е  
 неѡернѡ . аѡ еѡршннн асѡѡ есѡшѣт п̄сѡѡѡ .  
 есшѡ ѡеос же ара на шнре не . маалѣста же  
 аѡхоос же неѡеіѡт ѡѡстраѣлатнс не . аѡ  
 же а течеааѡ ѡѡ рѣ пхоі .

R

αἱ θεοπίστοι· ἀντὶ πενοτοῖ ἐ βῶν ἐ κνῆε·  
 αὐτῷ ἢ τερ πῆβον ἐκτὶ θαλάσσης· ἀναλε ἐ πχοι·  
 ἀνκῶ ἐ βολ ἀνρ ρωτ ἀνκῶ ἐ βολ <sup>(sic)</sup> ἀντὸς αἰ-  
 εοι ριτῇ ππατκλῆρος ἢ βαρβαρος· ἀςαεαρε  
 αἰεοι· ἀςχίτ ἐ τῆπατρις· ἀλλὰ πχῆ ἰς πεχῆ  
 πε πα αἱπρε θε αἱπε πετ αἱματ οὔδε κε οὔτα  
 χωρεῖ αἱ πα σωεα ἀλλὰ αἰγαρεζ ἐ τα σοφρο-  
 στῆν ψα ρραι ἐ τενοτ· ἐσχε ἴτον τενοτ· πε  
 ἐτσταθῖος κατὰ θε ἴταισοτῶντ ριτῇ αἱ εαειν  
 ἴταισοτ πακ τтарко αἰεον ἢ τσοε αἱ πεχῆ  
 αχῖς ἐ ροι αἱπρ ρῖ λλατ· |

Fol. 18 b

Λε

Ἡ τере ἐτσταθῖος δε σωτῇ ἐ παῖ ἀψρ ψπнре·  
 εεατε ἀςπατ ἐ πεсхарантнр· ἀςсоτῶнτ ατ-  
 нос ἢ ρаше тагоу ἀстῶотн· ἢ тетноτ ἀс-  
 ρωλб ἐ ρос пexау нас θε ἀноκ πε ἐτσταθῖος  
 πετ ρ ψахе ἐ ρоу αὐτῷ ἀτπн ерп нетернτ  
 ρῖ οὔ[τ]пн αἱ πпкон ατшоо е песнт ἢ ρенра-  
 еоооте етош αὐτῷ ἀтфеоот αἱ πнорте прчр пет  
 наноту ἢ ошоеш ние αἱп псрраал· αὐτῷ  
 есене αἰеоот ἐ βол ρῖ неθλпсис тнрот·  
 тессеме δε пexас нау θε етῶн на шнре·  
 ἴтоу δε пexас нас есрмее θε а неонрion  
 ситот αὐτῷ ἀсхω ерос αἱ пе нтасшопе αἰеоот  
 нееау·

Ἦτος δε пexас θε μαρпетхаристот αἱ пхῆ  
 таха пар ἡθε ἴтасхаризе αἰеон ἢ непернτ  
 снахаризе нан он ἢ пеншнре· пexе етста-  
 θῖος нас θε αἰшоос нн ἢ ке соп θε а неонрion  
 ситот· αсоτῶшб пexас θε Етег егмоос ρῇ  
 пκпос ἡсау· αсωтῇ ἐ ρршнре спат есшхе  
 αἱп нетернτ е неρбнте п тетαἱпткоти· αὐτῷ  
 еттаго ἢ пе нтасшопе αἰеоот· αсотῶнот  
 θε пеншнре | не· ἀλλὰ ἡсесоотпн ан ἢ нетернτ  
 ἡса βнλ θε ашшхе αἱ πнос снмаде αἱ πкоти

Fol. 19 a

Λζ

Παλλον δε εχει πεχρο η ηβαρβαρος · ατειρε δε  
 η ογνος η ψα εχι τεινσоти нетернѣ ае пе-  
 роот ет амаа · | П печрасте де адепейка-  
 лей ае пхѣ етїиноот е драг η денсеи ае Fol. 197  
 аептреу шп деиот · ηтеунос ае аепт ааг  
 рωαα · ραε птр ѿшωλ де ае пкоте η ηβαρ-  
 барос анокот ρη огнос η раше атеие ηае-  
 маа η деннос η шолѣ енашωот аеп оуеишѣ  
 нагхααλωтос · ραε птре Етстаѣос де котѣ  
 ραε пполтѣос аѿѣот ηѿи траинос прро · аѿеи  
 е пѿѣа ηѿи не рро е печрап пе ааріанос  
 етасеѣнс еѣате пе е ρоте пррωот · тнрот  
 птаѿшωпе ρа теуρн · ραε птрѿѣтоу де ηѿи  
 етстаѣос ραε пполтѣос а прро еи е ѿол  
 е тѿапантн ката тсѣпнѣа η пррωот η  
 перрωααос · аѿеие ηааау η печнос

тнрот є тѣ пепїпїкїон ꙗ ѿѿа тнрот ꙗтаѿ-  
хїтотъ.

[illegible][illegible]

Fol. 20 a

 $\overline{\lambda e}$ 

Fol. 20 b



ґагтїи нет оґааѣ. аґѡλѣ ии пѣпат аґотѡщїт  
пат. Аґнѡ он е тѣпѣ е пат е песнт ѡиисѡс  
аґеї е ѡл ґи пѣстаѡион. аґѡн пат.

И тере прро де пат е теѡѡриа ето ꙗ нѡс же  
 ꙗпе пѡнрѡн ѡѡ е роот аѡапорей аѡотег-  
 сазне е тачно ꙗ отѡасе ꙗ доѡѡт же нас  
 етепѡтже ꙗ нет отааб е рѡтн е роѡ ꙗсесагте  
 гзарѡт. аѡсѡотг де ꙗѡи пѡннше е пат е  
 патѡн. ꙗ ꙗ теѡѡриа ꙗ нет отааб. еѡѡ де  
 ꙗѡѡѡт е ѡѡл гѡт ꙗѡнхѡн ꙗ порѡанѡн.  
 е тѡтнѡт же ꙗѡѡѡт е рѡтн е роѡ. А пѡа-  
 карѡс Еѡстаѡѡс парѡаѡей ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡс  
 же етеѡаѡ ꙗсешѡнѡ. аѡѡѡѡѡ де е ѡѡл  
 ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ ꙗ тѡѡѡѡѡ. ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ.  
 аѡѡѡнѡ еѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡс. же пѡѡ Пнѡтѡ ꙗ  
 ꙗѡѡ пѡѡе ѡѡѡѡѡ е роѡ ꙗѡи ѡѡѡн ꙗѡѡ.  
 ѡѡѡ де ѡѡѡѡ е роѡ ѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ. сѡѡѡ  
 е рѡн тѡѡѡ еѡѡѡ е гѡѡ е рѡѡ. ꙗѡ тѡѡ  
 пѡѡѡѡнѡ ѡѡѡ ꙗѡн е ѡѡл гѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡ ꙗ Fol. 21 a  
 ѡѡѡѡѡ. гѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ пѡѡѡн ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ  
 еѡ отааб. ꙗѡ ѡѡн ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ еѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ нет отааб ꙗѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ ѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ  
 еѡ отааб. ѡѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ гѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ аѡѡ ꙗѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡ.

[illegible]

пепран • екенω наѣ е ѡа ѿ неѣноѣ • аѡ  
отон нѣ ет наѣ пепѣеѣѣ ѡпероѡ ѡ пеп-  
ран • ѡѡпе наѣ ѿ ѡноѡс пѣѣ • ѡаре таѡѡн  
ѡ пѡѡѣ ет ѡѡѣ е рон ѡѡпе наѣ еѣѡѣ  
нѣѡн ѣ ѡѡс пѡѡѣ ѿне неѣѡѡѡ • | ѡѡре  
е ѡа ѿ рѣѣѣ •

Наи же есѣω ѿмоот ешѡднѧ асѡтѧ ессин  
е боѧ рї тпе · есѣω ѿмос же ната ѳе їт  
атетїщопе и дѡлитне и шѡоре рѧе пей бїос ·  
атетїрѡпомене е рар ѿпейрасмос · тепоу  
се ѿпр̄ р̄ роте аенитї е драг е пей ма рї  
оверниин · їтетїхї ѿ пеклоє и ат тако ·  
їтетї аполате ѿѿѡтї рї пагаѳон їтаѳб-  
тѡтор · интї ша енер · е пма и прїсе їт  
атетїщопор · мї ѿпейрасмос їт атетїрѡпо-  
мене е роот прос откоти и оѳоеш ·

[illegible]

Fol. 21 b

Fol. 22 a

॥



# THE LIFE OF APA CYRUS

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

Fol. 23 a

ⲙⲉ

ⲡⲄⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲩ ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲩⲧⲁ ⲡ̅ ⲡⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲧ  
 ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲃ ⲛ̅ ⲉⲓⲩⲧ ⲉⲧ ⲧⲁⲓⲛⲩ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ  
 ⲥⲓⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲩ ⲫⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ. ⲡⲧⲉ-  
 ⲗⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲥⲧⲟⲣⲓⲗⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩ. ⲛ̅ⲟⲓ  
 ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲃⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲕ-  
 ⲕⲁⲛⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ ⲩⲣⲓⲛⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲕⲓⲧⲟⲛ ⲡⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲟⲓ  
 ⲡⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲃ. ⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲗⲛ ⲥⲟⲩ  
 ⲩⲣⲓⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲡ̅ ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲫ ⲗⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲛⲛⲛ  
 ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲁⲃ  
 ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉ ⲗⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ ⲩⲩⲛ ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲩⲁⲓ  
 ⲗⲁⲩⲛⲛ ⲛ̅.

ⲁⲥⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲗⲉ ⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲩ ⲡ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲃⲱ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲥ-  
 ⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡ̅ ⲧⲓⲕⲕⲁⲛⲥⲓⲁ ⲡ̅ ⲩⲣⲓⲛⲧ. ⲙ̅ⲉⲛⲓⲉⲁ ⲧⲣⲫⲥⲛⲉ-  
 ⲡⲁⲗⲉ ⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡⲉⲱⲉⲁ ⲡ̅ ⲧⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲗⲉⲗⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲧⲩⲉⲉⲣⲉ  
 ⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲗⲛⲓⲱⲛ. ⲁⲩⲣⲟⲣⲟⲉⲁ ⲥⲱⲗⲡ̅ ⲛⲁⲩⲩ ⲉ ⲃⲟⲗ.  
 ⲗⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̅ⲱ ⲙⲉⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉ ⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲗⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡⲉⲁ  
 ⲛⲟⲥ. ⲕⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲡ̅ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ ⲡ̅ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩⲱⲣⲓⲧⲛⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ  
 ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲛⲣⲫ̅ ⲙ̅ⲉⲡⲩⲱ ⲁⲛ ⲡ̅ⲟⲩⲥⲩ ⲡ̅ⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ  
 ⲡ̅ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲛⲛⲧⲉ *(sic)*. ⲡ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲩ ⲗⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲕⲁ-  
 ⲣⲓⲟⲥ | ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲃⲱ. ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲩⲙⲉⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲉ ⲗⲟⲩⲛ  
 ⲗⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡ̅ⲧⲟⲟⲥ ⲗⲓⲧⲛ̅ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ̅ⲉ ⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ ⲩⲣⲟⲡ  
 ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲉⲁⲩⲩ ⲡ̅ⲟⲉ ⲙ̅ⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛⲓⲟⲥ. ⲗⲙ̅ⲉ  
 ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲩ ⲡ̅ⲧⲁⲩⲙⲉⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ  
 ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲧⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲉⲗ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ. ⲡ̅ⲧⲟⲩⲩ ⲗⲉ ⲡⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ

Fol. 23 b

ⲙⲉ



Αφωσψ̄ ἡσὶ ἀπα παλ̄ω· εφ̄ω ᾱᾱος ἡ  
 χαίρε· ἀπα ριερᾱ· πε ἡ|ταψ̄ ψ̄νρ ε πα-  
 ρελος ᾱ πνωτε ε τ̄η πεψ̄τ̄η· ἡτοϋ δε οη Fol. 24 a  
 ἀπα ριερᾱ αφωσων ᾱ προ· αφ̄χιτ̄· ε ροτη ᾱ  
 ᾱρμεος ᾱ πετερη̄· πεχᾱ πᾱ ἡσὶ ἀπα  
 παλ̄ω ἡ πα μεριτ̄ ἡ сон ἀπα ριερᾱ· εἰς α  
 οτηρ ἡρομε· χη ἡτακεἰ ε ροτη ε πει ᾱ·  
 Πεχᾱ ἡ εἰς ᾱψ̄μενι ἡρομε † ᾱ πει ᾱ·  
 ᾱω ᾱπ εἰοτε ᾱ λαᾱ ἡ τροφ̄η ε πα πει κος-  
 ᾱος πε ᾱλλα εἰοη̄ ἡκαρπος ἡ ἡψ̄νι· πετ  
 ἡοτ̄η̄· δε ρητ̄· ἡσα βολ̄ ᾱ πεψ̄α ἡ ψωπε·  
 εστατο ε βολ̄ ᾱ ᾱψ̄сноо̄с ἡλοот̄ οτ̄λοот̄  
 ката εβот̄· εφ̄οη̄ ε πεска̄рpos· ᾱпок δε  
 παλ̄ω πεχᾱ πᾱ ἡ μεριτ̄ ἡ εἰωτ̄ ара  
 οτ̄η̄ сон ᾱ πεκροτη̄· πεχᾱ πᾱ ἡ οτ̄η̄ οτοη  
 с̄а̄от̄ ε ροι η̄ βωκ̄ ψ̄α ροот̄· η̄ χ̄ι с̄а̄от̄ ε βολ̄  
 ρ̄тоот̄· ἡ тер ε̄ᾱо̄о̄ще ε βολ̄ ρ̄̄ тоот̄̄ ε ροτη  
 ρ̄ᾱ πтоот̄ ᾱεἰ ε ρ̄ра̄ ε̄η̄ οτ̄κоти ἡ ката̄чон·  
 ᾱᾱот̄те ε ροτη ката п̄а̄н̄ων ἡ πεс̄н̄η̄ ᾱ-  
 ᾱоноχос· етеἰ ε̄а̄де ρ̄а̄т̄ ρ̄̄ п̄са̄ η̄ βολ̄ ᾱ п̄сон Fol. 24 b  
 ρ̄от̄ω πᾱ ρ̄ᾱ п̄са̄ η̄ ροτη | εφ̄ω ᾱᾱος· ἡ ᾱη̄

χαίρε ἀπα παλιῶ· ππρєсвѣтєрос ꙗ̄ тєкклєсиа·  
 ꙗ̄ шꙗит· аѡ ꙗиос ꙗ̄ жои єт ꙑ̄ рѡт рѣ ꙗѡмє  
 ꙗ̄ ат ѡоот· єіс оѡєнише ꙗ̄роот ꙑ̄єпєѡтмєи  
 є нѡт є рѡк· ѡѡиѡн ѡ ꙗѡєис жѡк є ѡѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗ  
 ѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗоот· аѡѡт є рѡт ꙗ̄ѡ ꙗѡ рѡт ꙗ̄  
 рѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ ѡѡ· аѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡꙑ· аѡѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ  
 ꙗѡ ѡєрѡт ꙗ̄ єѡт аѡ ꙗѡѡтꙗ· ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗѡтꙗ  
 χαίρε ꙗѡ ѡєрѡт ꙗ̄ сѡ ꙗѡ тєѡтꙗ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ тєѡтꙗ· ꙗ̄ ѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡ· ꙗ̄ ꙗѡѡꙑ  
 ꙗѡѡтє ѡ єтѡѡ ꙗ̄ рѡѡ є ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄  
 ꙑ̄ꙑ ꙗ̄тє ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡѡ· ꙗѡтєтє ꙗѡ ꙗѡ сѡѡ  
 аѡ ꙗѡ єѡѡтє· аѡѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ єѡѡѡѡѡ  
 аѡѡѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ єт ꙗѡѡ  
 ꙗѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡ· ꙑ̄ѡѡ є рѡꙑ·

ꙗ̄ тє ꙗѡѡѡ ѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡт аѡѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ єѡт єѡѡѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ̄тєꙑꙑ·  
 ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗѡѡ єѡѡѡѡ· ꙗ̄ тєѡ-  
 тꙗ ꙗ̄ тє ꙗѡѡ· ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄тꙑ аѡ ꙗѡѡтꙑ·  
 ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ̄ ѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ̄  
 ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡт ꙗ̄ сѡ аѡ ꙗѡѡѡ· ꙗ̄тєтє ꙗѡ  
 ꙗ̄ ꙗѡѡт ꙗ̄ єѡт ꙗѡ єіс жѡѡтє ꙗ̄ѡѡѡ·  
 ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡ є ꙗѡ ꙗѡ тє ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ ѡѡт тєт єіѡѡ  
 ꙗ̄тѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ̄ рѡт· ꙗ̄тєꙑꙑ· аѡ тѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗ̄ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗѡѡѡ· аѡ ꙑ̄ѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗѡꙑ· ꙗѡ  
 тѡ рѡѡ є рѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗѡѡ· аѡ ꙗ̄  
 ꙗѡ ꙗѡ ѡ ꙗѡѡ є рѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗ̄ꙑ·

ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡт ꙗ̄ єѡт ꙗѡ аѡ ѡꙑ сѡ  
 ꙗ̄ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡ· ꙗѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ сѡѡт ѡѡ  
 ꙗѡѡѡ· єѡ ꙗѡѡѡ тѡꙑ ꙗ̄ѡѡ аѡ ꙗѡѡ  
 ꙗ̄тѡсє ꙗ̄ ѡѡт· ꙗ̄тє ꙗ̄ѡѡѡѡѡ· аѡѡ ꙗѡ рѡꙑ  
 ꙗ̄ѡ ꙗѡѡ єѡѡѡ ꙗ̄ѡ ꙗѡѡѡ· аѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡꙑ  
 ѡѡ ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡ єѡѡ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡ· ꙗѡ аѡѡ  
 єѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡ ꙗѡѡѡ· є ꙗѡ ꙗѡ є ꙗѡ ꙗ̄ѡѡѡ

π ρᾶ π σαργ̃ ε νατ ε παρο • ει εν τει πεпрес-  
 вѣтерос π τικλнcia • π шнт • тенот де мещак  
 ω па еиот пτωш пе пай е траеи пеееак птанаτ  
 е роу аτω птахи сеоу е вола ги тоотѣ еепат  
 еееот .:— |

Πεχαг нау • же еееон • пτωш ан пе пай • е the Fol. 25 b  
 пай ро • ит аiei ша ров е пei мa • алла фнаρ π  
 пекееете ршан пжс соотп̃ птагин ита-  
 апанта • е псон ет еееаτ • плни ω па еиот  
 ари па мееете шан фаноладе ee пеееот ee  
 псон ет еееаτ • π тер мееоше е роти р̃ee  
 птоот пара оуенлион • фωр̃к инт̃ ee п̃ннеа •  
 ет га роте • ee пноуте • анок палеω пei ела-  
 хеистос • же π фxi сол ан р̃ee пе фнахоу •  
 тенот же пе итацамаде π аѳвакоте пепро-  
 фитис ee пеотоеиш аеине еееоу ee паристон  
 ет иптоотѣ • ас̃птѣ ехе ee пшн̃ π еееоти • ас̃-  
 таау π аанил • р̃ee пшн̃ π еееоти • итоу он  
 пе итацамаде еееоι ги оорен ee пепна  
 аеине еееої ехе пкатац̃ион ee псон ет ee-  
 маτ • аτω аикωλ̃ ε про ката пканион π  
 песн̃т еееопохос • аτω неаг • е рат ги̃ee  
 про • π относ π наτ

Πη̃са наг а псон р̃ отω наг р̃ee пса и роти •  
 ес̃жω еееос • же | χα̃ιρε апа палеω пепрес- Fol. 26 a  
 вѣтерос π теклнcia • π шнт аτω пнос π жои π̃a  
 ет р̃ рот р̃ee пхаie π ат мееотт (sic) • eis оуеннше  
 ироот тиепейт̃м̃еи е наτ е ров • eis па отωш  
 а пноуте жокѣ наг е вола ee поот • аееот е  
 роти eẽр̃ ааг е рат̃ ги пса и вола • π тер̃  
 р̃ роти ee про ee пкатац̃ион а̃с̃ωш̃т̃ амаτ  
 етнос π ωне мееис • ите eẽт̃сноотс π р̃ωме  
 ештωот̃н еееоу е понѣ • ас̃ф̃ п̃ѣот̃и̃ п̃си псон  
 ет еееаτ ас̃еворвр̃ ee п̃ωне • ас̃т̃ос̃ѣ е про









Fol. 30 a  
πθ

апа шенотте пархнеанаритис ентопос π  
танапатсис • πθε ет снр же отπ ραρ αα π  
шопе • ραα пнї | αα па еіот • ере петсеот ет  
отааб нашопе πααααα ρααααα:—

Ππиса наг апапореі ρраг π ρнт же енаρ псωαα  
αα пееакаріос π аш π ρе • н енаσπкаісе • тωп  
πтаф е роу • а пснр еі е воλ ραα про αα  
пкатацион асштаαα αα про • а пснр же тоотѣ  
е воλ ехαα про αα пкатацион • асшωαα • ехαα  
псωαα αα пееакаріос • асшопе нау αα αα π  
свепазе ша пероот αα прап αα αα • а пснр  
βωк е ρраг е тпе απ πѣаттелос • апок де  
αααααα • αгеі е воλ ша несинт апа паαααα •  
απ апа ρіераз • αгω е роот • π не птапаѣ  
е роот атфеоот αα пнотте • апок де αгω ρа  
ρтнѣ π ρенкоти πроот •

Ππиса наг αβωк е па αααααααα ρπ шнт  
αсраг αα пβіос αα пееакаріос апа кѣрос •  
αкаααϣ ρπ тѣααααα π шнт • етрнт απ от-  
сολαα π нет насωтαα е роу • етеоот π тетріас  
ет отааб пѣт • απ пшнре • απ пеппα ет отааб  
ша енег π енег ρααααα:—

ζ ◊ ζ ◊ ζ ◊ ζ ◊ ζ

ς ς ς ς



# THE ENCOMIUM OF FLAVIANUS, BISHOP OF EPHESUS, ON DEMETRIUS, ARCH- BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

ΟΥΕΥΚΗΣΙΟΝ Ε ΑΧΤΑΥΟΟΨ ΗΟΙ ΠΕΝ Fol. 30 b  
 ΠΕΤ ΟΥΑΑΒ Η ΕΨΤ ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕΠΙ- Σ  
 ΚΡΟΠΟΣ Η ΕΦΕΣΟΣ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ Ε ΑΧΤΑΥ-  
 ΟΟΨ Ε ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΥΨΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗ-  
 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ Η ΡΑΚΟΤΕ ΖΠ ΠΕΖΟΟΥ Π  
 ΠΕΨΡ ΨΕΕΤΕ ΕΤ ΤΑΨΤ ΕΤΕ ΣΟΥ  
 ΧΟΥΤΗ ΠΕ· Π ΠΕΒΟΤ ΘΨΘ· ΑΨΨΑΧΕ  
 ΔΕ ΟΗ Ε ΤΒΕ ΗΕΨΠΗΡΕ ΗΤΑ ΠΗΟΥΤΕ  
 ΑΑΥ Ε ΒΟΛ ΖΙ ΤΟΟΤΨ ΑΨΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ  
 ΟΗ ΖΠ ΠΕΙ ΕΥΚΗΣΙΟΝ Η ΟΥΨΤ Ε ΤΒΕ  
 ΠΖΑΓΙΟΣ Π ΠΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΑΥΨ Π ΠΑΡ-  
 ΘΕΝΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟ-  
 ΠΟΣ Η ΤΕΙ ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΟΥΨΤ ΡΑΚΟΤΕ·  
 ΑΥΨ Ε ΤΒΕ ΘΑΓΙΑ Π ΠΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ Τ  
 ΡΠ ΤΑΨΤΟΧΙΑ ΤΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΠ ΠΕΣΨΗΡΕ  
 ΣΗΑΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΨΡ ΠΠ ΕΥΤΡΟΠΙΟΣ· Ε  
 ΑΨΨΑΧΕ ΔΕ ΟΗ Ε ΤΒΕ ΠΤΨΒΣ Η  
 ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΑΥΨ Ε ΤΒΕ ΠΕΖΡΗΤΟΝ ΕΤ  
 ΣΗΖ ΖΗ ΙΕΡΕΨΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΖΠ  
 ΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤ ΠΨΑΥ ΤΗΑΤΑΖΟ Ε ΡΑΤΣ

**П**ѢСНЬ ПЪЯТАЯ  
 НАИРОС ЛОПОН КІЕ Е РОГ Е ТРА КІЕ Е  
 ПОРТАНОН ꙗко па лас ет ѿохъ аѡ та  
 тапро | ꙗко сөөенис е тра жоос рѡот ей  
 прѣѡаллеи даа аѡ прѣрѡс е пноѡте же ак-  
 бей пушпе ꙗко пкад актрѣѣде анташе аасу ꙗ  
 рѣееао. а пелеро пноѡте мотр ꙗмоот аксоѡте  
 ꙗтерѡре же паг не ꙗсоѡте пале. асѡбей пушпе  
 ꙗко пкад асѡтрѣѣде асѡташе аасу ꙗ рѣееао.  
 ещже от еѡфротини ꙗ ꙗрѡе не пнрꙗ ꙗ-  
 рѡлнос

Паи ешчанрдоото сѡ е вола ꙗзгы ꙗзгы. аѡ  
 ѡаре оѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ ꙗзгы. еѡ оѡѡѡ те  
 теѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы е  
 вола ѡѡ ꙗзгы ѡѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы. ешѡ ѡаре  
 ꙗзгы еѡѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы. еѡ ѡѡѡ. еѡ  
 оѡѡѡ те теѡѡѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы.  
 ѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы еѡ  
 ѡѡѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы еѡ ѡѡѡ е вола  
 ѡѡѡ ꙗзгы ꙗзгы ꙗзгы еѡ ѡѡѡ.  
 ꙗзгы ѡѡ ꙗзгы ѡѡ ꙗзгы. ꙗзгы ѡѡ еѡ ѡѡ  
 ꙗзгы ѡѡѡ. ѡѡѡ ѡѡ ꙗзгы.

[illegible]

Fol. 31 a

пагтѣ е воѡ га рон. — ꙗкарпос де ꙗташрꙗ  
 хоот не наг. тескраѣа. птѣво. тпарѣена.  
 тейтнант. фринн. ѡелпс. тейтреѣраш.  
 тейтс[т]еент. еѣ петинѡ еѣпса наг. наг не  
 нта фсѡше еѣ пꙗкон татоот е драг рите  
 проот еѣ пꙗкон ꙗтаѣе е жѡс.

Пкаiros лoпoн не наг е трахоос. еѣ пeпpo-  
 фнтис. аѡ ппoмoѣетис мѡтсис. же мeарꙗ  
 жѡ е пхѣ рꙗ oтeooт тap аѣѣ eoт. — Ешже  
 а пет мeаѡ р шпнpe eтнaт е пeтжaжe eтмoт  
 рꙗ ѡaллaсa eтe e тѣe oт ꙗ фнaршпнpe aн aпoк  
 eтнaт е пeнтaѣмoт | дapoн. аѡ aѣтѡoтн Fol. 32 a  
 шaнт фѡбꙗo eѣ пжaсioнт. — aтeтc лoпoн 32<sup>a</sup>  
 нтaкe e пoртaнoн eѣ пa лaс ꙗтaтaтo ꙗ  
 рeнкoтꙗ ꙗтaю. e пeт пeт oтaаѣ eт ꙗcooтp  
 e рoтн e пeѣpaн eт oтaаѣ. oтeтoт eѣ мaг  
 нѣшпнpe пe. oтшѡc ꙗ рѣмooнe кaлѡc пe  
 eѣфopей ꙗ тcптe ꙗ apетн.

Тпapѣeнa. аѡ птaмoс ꙗceтeнoн. aллa мeшaн  
 ꙗтe oтa жooc нaг. же мeшꙗтoмe e тpe пpмe  
 р пapѣeнoс мeпcа тpѣжe cтeмe. мeape пeт  
 мeаѡ cѡтe aпoк фнaф нaѣ ꙗ oтaпoѡzic  
 e вoл рꙗ пeтpaфн eт oтaаѣ. ꙗтaжooc рѡ мe  
 пeнcнр же oтꙗ рoнe e aтaаѡ ꙗcoтp мeтн  
 мeooт e тѣe тeптepo н eѣ пнтe. пecoтp  
 тap eшaтжпooт e вoл рꙗ рнтѣ ꙗтeмeаѡ eтo  
 ꙗcoтp пeтpaн мeатe. пecoтp пeт нaѣ де  
 ꙗcoтp мeтн мeoѣ нe пeт нaшшaжe e  
 тѣмeтжѡape. e пe нтa жaт тap пaтaсce  
 ꙗcoлaѡ. epe пeскeтe eѣ пoлтeмкoн тo рѡѡѣ  
 пeтнa eпaнoт мeoѣ aн пe ꙗфpe тнpѣ. aллa  
 ꙗ тep eѣпaтaсce | мeoѣ жѡpтc рoплoн р Fol. 32 b  
 мepeг ꙗѣ ꙗѣ (sic) ꙗ пe ꙗтeмoт тнpoт. мeт 32<sup>b</sup>  
 пeпннкoн eтe пeт жpaeт пe. ꙗ тeт рe oн р



ρακ е тесρиее ꙗ ат шаѡ ет ааааѡ. ꙗтас-  
 фѡнеі е ппет ѡтааб ѡснѣ еішаже е тесρиее  
 ꙗ рѣ ꙗ кнеее. аааон | аааон еен теноіто алаааа Fol. 33 b  
 кѡ наі е ѡл ѡ пѣаос. аа аааї пехѣ. ѡснѣ ꙗ  
 тар ене ꙗтаѣꙗкотѣ аа трѣ ꙗ кнеее не ѡтнобе  
 наѣ пе. ѡпорнаа тар тет ѣнаас е тѣе паі рѡ  
 аѣрарез е ꙗѣсѡаа еѣѡтааб аа пнорте ꙗтаѣ-  
 тааіоѣ. ппет ѡтааб ае ꙗтоѣ аіентріос ене  
 ꙗтаѣꙗкотѣ аа тѣсρиее. не аа нобе е роѣ  
 пе ꙗтаѡѡѡѡѡ аа неѡернѡ е ѡл ρітѣ  
 пнорте. алаа папѡс кнаѡос же ѡтеско-  
 пос пе. ꙗ еѡѡе не роѣ е аі сρиее. аапр ѡос  
 ꙗ теі ρе ѡ псон. наі тар аіканѡн ет ѡтааб  
 ꙗ ꙗпѡстѡлѡс ѡос ꙗѣре же еѡѡпе ѡтапе  
 еѡꙗтаѣ сρиее ааааѡ ρа ѡн аапат ѣр епі-  
 скѡпѡс. ааꙗсѡс еѣѡаір епіскѡпѡс ꙗ ꙗѣсѡ  
 нѡѣ е ѡл алаа аарѣѣѡ ꙗааас. шае  
 папѡстѡлѡс ет ѡтааб ѡос же ꙗааіос таіѡ  
 ρꙗ ρѡѣ ꙗаа аѡѡ ꙗ ꙗкотѣ тѣѡнѡ. аа порнос  
 аа ꙗ ꙗѡеік неі ере пнорте ꙗаврне ааааѡѡѡ.  
 паі пет ѡтааб | ѣе аѣр петпе аа пе ꙗтаꙗѡѡѡ Fol. 34 a  
 ꙗ тер ѡтаѡіста ѡн аааѡѣ еѡаа пеѡропѡс ꙗт  
 еꙗскѡпн ѡтаѡ аа аіне пе паі аапр ꙗ наѣ аѡѡ  
 ѡаѣѡос наѣ же па ѡнре ѡѡк сарѡѡн е ѡл  
 ꙗ аѡ ꙗ нобе ет екеіре аааѡѣ ааꙗсѡс ꙗѣ аі е  
 ѡл ρꙗ аааѡстнріон ет ѡтааб.

ꙗ тер еѣѡѡ ѡн еѣеіꙗ е ѡл ꙗ теі ρе а тѡліс  
 тнрѣ сарѡѡс е ѡл ꙗ ꙗнобе. ρѡс ае е ѡл ꙗ  
 ꙗнобе. ρѡс ае рѡѡн ѡта наѡ е ѡта еѣеіре  
 ꙗ ѡтнобе ѡаѣѡѡѡ же сарѡѡн е ѡл аа пеі  
 ρѡѣ. аапѡте ꙗте ꙗарѡнепіскѡпѡс аіатрепе  
 аааон ере пѣаос. тнрѣ ѡѡреі аааон аѡѡ  
 шае пет ааааѡ р ρѡте ꙗѣѡѡ. ρітꙗ теі аіѣа  
 ѡн ρаѣ сарѡѡѡ е ѡл е тѣа р нобе. ꙗꙗꙗꙗ

шаре ραρ πρεστωρ жоос же эн энте паг  
 тѣсгеее аааа · есѣω н пеи шаже нѣре · аѣω  
 петскангаагге тирот · ере откврѣрѣе шооп  
 е тѣннтѣ е воа же ае пе роее деоос ехае пе-  
 оронос н теептархтепос жп ае фатнос  
 ааркос пет/аггелестне · еи эн теи парѣенос ·

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Плини шаре роие н пет нои н петрафи жоос н  
 пет ѡω н пеи шаже же птаеос таинѣ рп рѡб ·  
 аѣω пееа н пкоти тѣннт · аѣω пноуте пе  
 нтагсонтѣ · аѣω тп ететпкврѣрѣе е пархн-  
 епископос · плини аепотеу пѣе аааоот · есѣω  
 ааеос же пеег аептеноотс пе паг · нтагдеоос  
 ехае пеоронос н теептархтепскопос аѣω пса  
 паг ааѣаг аепте отон сгеее аааа · пноуте  
 же рѡѡг паѣаѣос пете нѣотѡш ан етрентѣ пет  
 отааѣ ѣω етрнп аааа аѣотѡш е отонрот е  
 воа аѣω нѣѣи еоот е воа рп тоотот ката пе  
 нтагѣооѣ рѣе петаггелюи же ае есѣере от-  
 рнѣс псекааѣ га отшг аааа ешагкааѣ ехп  
 тлѣхна е трѣ р отоеи е пет шооп тирот рѣе  
 пни · аѣω аѣѣлп прѡѣ е воа ае пархнеписко-  
 пос есѣикоти н ототшн · еис отаггелос нте  
 пноуте аѣотѡнѣ наѣ е воа пѣаѣ наѣ же  
 аиентриос аиентриос аепр шне пса текноѣре  
 ааѣаа · аааа пса пет ргтотѡн · он аѣω нѣ  
 р пееете · ае пе нта пѣс ѣооѣ рѣе пет/аггел-  
 люи же пшѡс ет паноѣг шаѣка теѣѣѣхн  
 га пѣѣеоот ·

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Аѣотѡшѣ пѣи ппет отааѣ аиентриос пѣаѣ ае  
 паггелос же от пет · шооп па ѣс н от пет  
 ѣотерсагге ааеѣ паг эн ектпноот ааеѣ  
 етеептаартѣрос ѣсѣѣѣѣт е пѡѣт е воа ае па  
 сноѣ · га прап ае па ѣс пѣ пѣхѣ · пѣе паггел-  
 лос наѣ же сѡтѣе е рои ѡ аиентриос пта







тре ктамон же от не пей тѣпос ꙗтанааѣ же  
анѣшпире тирѣ е граи ехѣ проѡ. ꙗтоѣ де  
пехаѣ наѣ же сѡтѣ е рои ꙗтатаеѡтѣ ꙗтар  
паи тар ан. еишине ꙗса отеѡот ꙗ рѡме.

Анок тар ꙗ зѣ сѣ з ꙗроме ꙗ поѡт. аѡ  
тесѣме ететѣпат е рос та шѣѡта те. а  
песеѡт ѡѡт етеи есо ꙗ кѡти | еа псон ꙗ Fol. 37 a  
песеѡт ете па еѡт не ꙗтѣ е ѡтѣи ѡа ѡтѣи от  
ене ѡшѣере тар ꙗ ѡѡт те ꙗѡе ꙗ анок еа ꙗѣ  
ѡта ѡѡ еаѡсаѡтѣи ѡи ѡтсон ѡѣ ѡѡеа ꙗ  
ѡѡт.

Н тер еѣ ꙗѣтѣ де ꙗроме а на еѡѡте ѡѡш  
е ѡтѣрт ꙗѣеас. шѡрѣ ѡен же аѡѡн несѣнѡ  
ꙗ непернѡ ꙗѣѣсѡс де ѡи кѡта тѣѣтѣѡѡшѡ  
ꙗ пей кѡсѡс. же ꙗне рѡме ꙗ шѣѣѡ еи е ѡтѣи  
ꙗѣѣѡн ꙗѣѣи ѡаѡт ѡѣ тѣѣѡроѡѡеа. Н тер  
ѡѣр тѣѣѣѣет де кѡта пет прѣпей ꙗ ꙗрѡме  
аѡѡшѣ е тра ѡѡѡ е ѡтѣи шѡа рос. ꙗ тер  
ꙗ ꙗѡтѣ де пѣѡас паи же па сон ѡн шѡре сон  
ѡи сѡне. анок де пѣѡаѣ нас же ѡѡѡн. Нѡс  
де пѣѡас паи же е тѣѡ ѡт аѡѡѡн ꙗ непернѡ  
ѡн аѣ тѣѡсѡне ан. анок де пѣѡаи нас же  
ѣѡѡн сѡтѣ ꙗѡѡ та сѡне. тѣѣѡѡѡпе ѡѣ ꙗѣѡ  
ете ѡѡт порѡѣ е непернѡ ꙗ ѡтѣѣ шѡа еѡѡ.  
аѡѡа еѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѣ ꙗѣ ѡѡ. сѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ еѡ  
аѡѡ ꙗѣѡѡѡѡ е рои ѡтѣѣ ꙗѡѡт. еѡѡѡпе де  
ѡѡѡѣ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ е неѡѡѡѡа еѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѣ  
ѡтѣѡѡ тѣѣѡѡѡ непернѡ е ѡѡѡ ан ѡѣ ѡѣѡѡѡѡ  
ꙗ тѣѡ. ꙗ тер есѡѡѣ де е пей шѡѡе е ѡѡѡ ѡи  
ѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѣ непернѡ е тѣѣѡѡѡѡѡѡ е неѡѡѡѡѡ  
| еѡ ꙗ аѡѡѡѡѡ. на еѡѡте де ѡѡ Fol. 37 b  
ѡѡѡѡѡ е ꙗѡѡѡѡ. аѡѡѡ шѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗрѡме ѡѡ  
ет ѡѣ ꙗѡѡѡѡѡѡ е тѣѡѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡт ꙗ  
тѣѣтѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ тѣѣѣѣет кѡта ѡѡ тѣѣѡѡѡѡѡ



ⲁⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲓⲃⲁⲧⲙⲁⲗⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ̅. ⲡⲧⲁϥⲣ̅  
ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲥⲱ ⲧⲏⲣ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲧⲉϥϥⲟⲩⲉⲥ̅. ⲉϥⲉⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉ̅. |  
ⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ̅ ⲉ̅ ϣⲟⲥ̅.

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ⲉⲧⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ϣⲱⲟⲧ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲧ ⲉⲧ ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲧⲁⲧ̅ ⲟⲩ̅  
ⲁⲉⲁⲁⲧ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲥ̅. ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲉⲧⲱ ⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ̅ ⲛⲉ  
ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ϣⲉⲛⲭⲣⲓⲥⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ̅. ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲧⲉⲓ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲧ ⲡ̅ⲥⲉⲛⲁ  
ⲥⲏⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲏⲁⲧ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲙⲉⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ̅ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲡⲓ-  
ⲥⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ̅ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ̅ ⲉϥⲱ ⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ̅. ⲛⲉ ⲡⲧⲏⲥⲟⲟⲧⲏ  
ⲁⲛ̅. ⲡ̅ ⲛⲉⲡⲉⲣⲏⲧ̅ ⲉⲓ ⲙⲏ ⲧⲉⲓ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ̅. ⲱ̅ ⲡⲁⲧⲱ-  
ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲧⲏⲥ̅. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲣ̅ϥⲙⲓⲥⲱⲉ̅ ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲁⲃⲟⲥ̅ ⲫⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ̅  
ⲁⲙⲉⲧⲣⲓⲟⲥ̅. ⲱ̅ ⲡⲁ ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲉⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲛⲧ̅ ⲛⲓⲉ  
ⲉ̅ ϣⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲏⲁⲧ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲧⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲥ̅ ⲉⲧ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲥ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲧⲉⲓ ϣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ̅ⲥ̅.  
ⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲉⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲩ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲉϥϥⲱⲙⲁ̅. ⲉⲧ ⲉⲛⲏ ⲫⲟⲃⲁ̅  
ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲉⲥ̅. ⲉ̅ ⲃⲟⲗ̅ ⲛⲉ̅ ⲡⲧⲏ̅ ⲟⲩⲥⲏⲣⲉ̅ ⲥⲏⲙⲉ̅.  
ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲏⲁⲧ̅ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲕⲥⲱⲛⲉ̅ ⲡⲉⲙⲙⲉⲁⲥ̅ ⲉⲓ ⲡ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ̅  
ϣⲁⲣⲧⲏⲕ̅. ⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲉⲡⲉ ⲡⲣ̅ϥⲛⲉⲛ̅ ⲥⲟⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲟⲧ̅ ⲡⲉⲛ̅  
ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲉ̅ ϣⲟⲛ. ⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲁϥ̅ ⲁⲛⲧ̅ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ̅ ϣⲱ ⲉⲣⲉ  
ⲟⲩϥⲁⲣ̅ⲧ̅ ⲧⲟ ϣⲱⲱⲧ̅ ⲡ̅ⲟⲉ̅ ⲡ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ̅ ⲡⲓⲉ̅. ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲱⲧⲁⲉ̅  
ⲡⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ̅. ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲏⲁⲧ̅ ⲉⲥⲱⲁⲣⲉ̅ ⲡⲁ ϣⲏⲧ̅ ⲛⲓⲉ̅ ⲉ̅ ϣⲟⲓ̅ ⲉ̅  
ϣⲟⲧⲏ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲡⲁⲃⲟⲥ̅. ⲥⲱⲁⲣ̅ ⲡⲓⲉⲉⲧⲉ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲡ̅ⲥⲧⲏⲃⲟⲧⲏⲕ̅ ⲡ̅ⲧ̅  
ⲁⲓⲉⲁⲓⲡⲧⲟⲧ̅ ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉ̅ ⲛⲏⲉ̅ ⲓⲡⲁⲣⲁⲃⲁ̅ ⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ̅.  
ϥⲏⲁⲁⲡⲁⲣⲏⲁ̅ ⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ̅ ϣⲱⲱϥ̅. ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲁⲉⲧⲟ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲃⲟⲗ̅ ⲁⲉ̅  
ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ̅ ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲡ̅ϥ̅ | ⲁⲧⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ̅ ⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ̅. ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲏⲁⲧ̅  
ⲟⲛ ⲉⲥⲱⲁⲣ̅ ⲡⲓⲉⲉⲧⲉ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲟⲩ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲉϥϥⲱⲙⲁ̅. ⲟⲩ̅  
ⲥⲱⲁⲣ̅ ⲡⲓⲉⲉⲧⲉ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓⲉ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲡ̅ϥⲱⲙⲁ̅ ϣ̅ⲡ̅ ⲡ̅  
ⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ̅. ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲫ̅ ⲃⲱⲱⲛ̅. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲥⲱⲁⲛ̅ ⲛⲁ ϣⲱⲛ̅  
ⲉ̅ ⲧⲁⲉ̅ ⲛⲉ̅ ⲥⲱⲛⲉ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲥⲱⲉⲓⲉⲓⲟⲩ̅ ⲉⲛⲣ̅ ϣⲟⲧⲉ̅ ϣⲏⲧ̅ ⲡⲧⲁ-  
ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲏ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡ̅ⲕⲱⲣ̅ⲧ̅ ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲡ̅ⲥⲱⲁⲣ̅ ⲡ̅ ⲧⲧⲉⲣⲉⲕⲏⲏⲁ̅ ⲉⲧ ⲥⲱⲟⲛ̅  
ϣ̅ⲡ̅ ⲁⲙⲓⲡⲧⲉ̅. ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ ⲥⲱⲟⲛ̅ ⲡ̅ ϣⲏⲧ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲉⲥⲱ̅ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̅  
ⲡ̅ ϣⲱⲟⲧ̅ ⲉ̅ ⲡⲧⲏⲣ̅ⲥ̅. ⲁⲧⲱ ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲥⲱ̅ ⲟⲩⲱⲛ̅.

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ⲧⲉⲣⲉ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲓⲉⲉⲧⲉ̅ ⲱ̅ ⲡ̅ⲥⲧⲏⲣⲉⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲙⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉ̅  
ⲛⲉ̅ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ̅ ϣ̅ⲡ̅ ⲧⲁⲣⲭⲏ̅ ⲁⲉ̅ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲣⲟⲩⲙⲓⲟⲛ̅ ⲛⲉ̅ ϥⲥⲟⲧ̅ⲡ̅  
ⲡ̅ⲥⲓ̅ ⲡⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲧ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ̅ ⲡ̅ ϣⲟⲩⲟ̅. ⲉ̅ ⲡⲉⲧ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁⲥⲥⲉ̅ ⲡ̅  
ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲓ̅ ⲁⲓⲡ̅ ⲟⲩⲁⲣ̅ⲧ̅. — ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲣ̅ ⲁⲟⲧⲁ̅ ⲭⲟⲟⲥ̅ ϣ̅ⲡ̅



петрос ппѣт ѡтааѣ · епѣѡшѣт ан е ро п-  
 рѡе · аλλα еѣкѡ пѣтнѣ е пе нтаѣѡос же  
 аепр р роте рнѡт п нет палеѡѡѡт ае петн  
 сѡеа еепѡеа де аеѡѡѡт е ѡѡѡѡт п нетае  
 ѡѡхн · е тѣе пай нѣтаѡхнѡт е перѡѡ · аѡѡ пе  
 ѡаѣѡѡс ае пеклнрос же аепр тре рѡѡѡѡ п  
 рѡе перѡ тнѡтн е пехѣ ·

Нет п ѡтрѡе де рн тапѡѡѡ ае пеѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ет аеѡѡт е пѣран пе зѡѡѡѡѡ · Пай де ене-  
 пе ѡѡнр пе п апатнр пе · нтаѣѡѡ е кнѡе  
 аѣр ѡартѡрос · Пай де зѡѡѡѡѡ пе ѡѡхрис-  
 ѡанѡс пе пѡѡрп е аѣѡ ѡапѣсѡеа · аѡѡ аѣ-  
 апѡтасѡе аеѡѡѡ · аѡѡ неѡ п рѡѡѡѡѡтнѡс еѣ-  
 ѡѡѡт п нехрисѡанѡс е перѡѡ · еѡпѡѡ де  
 аеѡѡѡт п ѡѡѡѡе пхрисѡанн е пѡѡран пе  
 ѡартѡѡѡ · е аѡѡ пай пѡнре снѡт · пнѡѡ  
 ѡѡн аѣѡѡѡт е роѡ же ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ · пѡѡѡ  
 де же еѡтрѡпѡс · п тер ѡѡр пѡѡ де пѡѡ |  
 пѡнре ѡнѡ · аѡеѡпѡѡ ае пѡѡѡѡѡ · аѡѡ е Fol. 40 b  
 трѡѡѡѡѡѡ аеѡѡѡѡѡ катѡ пѡѡѡѡѡ · п нехрис- п  
 ѡанѡс · аѡѡѡѡ аеп пѡѡѡ пѡѡ тѡѡѡѡѡ еѡѡѡ  
 аеѡѡс же ѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ аеѡѡѡ пѡ сѡн е трѡѡѡ  
 пѡѡѡѡ е тпѡѡѡс рѡѡѡт пѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ п неп-  
 ѡнре · ѡѡпѡѡт пѡѡѡѡѡ аеп аѡ ѡапѣсѡеа  
 пѡтѡ пнѡѡѡт · ѡѡнѡт е рѡн же аѡѡѡѡѡ е тѡѡѡѡ  
 п непѡнре ·

Нѡѡѡ де пѡѡѡѡ пѡѡ же кѡ рѡ та сѡнѡ трѡѡѡѡѡ  
 же пѡѡѡѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ тѡѡѡ · ѡѡпѡѡт пѡтѡ пѡѡѡ  
 сѡтѡѡ пѡѡѡѡѡѡ е рѡн · пѡѡѡѡѡ пай де же  
 еспѡѡ рѡѡт пѡ тѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ п непѡнре · п тѡѡ  
 сѡѡѡ де же пѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ пѡѡ ан · рѡѡ пе нѡѡѡ-  
 ѡѡѡѡ е роѡ аѡѡѡѡѡ аѡѡѡѡѡѡ п тѡѡѡѡ ае  
 пѡѡнре снѡт аѡѡ е ѡѡѡ еѡп ѡѡѡѡѡ ·  
 аѡѡѡѡѡ п тѡѡ де еѡѡѡ аеѡѡс · же пѡѡѡѡѡѡѡ

ππαντωκρατωρ πιωτ αε πα χοεις ις πεχ<sup>ς</sup>·  
 ευ<sup>ς</sup>χε κ<sup>ς</sup>νασοοτ<sup>ι</sup> πτα ρ<sup>ι</sup>ν· ειε μαφ<sup>ς</sup>οε πα<sup>ς</sup> ε  
 τρα<sup>ς</sup>ινε π ο<sup>ς</sup>τε<sup>ς</sup>πε<sup>ς</sup>ρια· ε<sup>ς</sup>τε<sup>ς</sup>ι δε ες<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>η<sup>ς</sup>λ ας<sup>ς</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup>  
ας<sup>ς</sup>πα<sup>ς</sup>τ ετ<sup>ς</sup>χο<sup>ς</sup>ι εϕ<sup>ς</sup>ρ ρ<sup>ι</sup>ωτ ρ<sup>ι</sup> θα<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>λα<sup>ς</sup>σα ατω α τε<sup>ς</sup>  
 ρ<sup>ι</sup>ι<sup>ς</sup>ε μο<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>τε ε πε<sup>ς</sup>τ ρ<sup>ι</sup> πχο<sup>ς</sup>ι χε ετε<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup>β<sup>ς</sup>ν<sup>ς</sup>κ ε  
 τω<sup>ς</sup>ν· πτο<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>τ δε πε<sup>ς</sup>χα<sup>ς</sup>τ πα<sup>ς</sup> χε πβ<sup>ς</sup>ν<sup>ς</sup>κ ε τπο<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>ις  
 ρα<sup>ς</sup>κο<sup>ς</sup>τε· πτο<sup>ς</sup>с δε πε<sup>ς</sup>χα<sup>ς</sup>τ πα<sup>ς</sup>τ χε τε<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup>να<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>τα<sup>ς</sup>λο<sup>ς</sup>  
πε<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ν<sup>ς</sup>ι<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup> πτα<sup>ς</sup>φ πι<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup> πτε<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup>β<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>ι<sup>ς</sup>ε· πτο<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>τ δε  
πε<sup>ς</sup>χα<sup>ς</sup>τ πα<sup>ς</sup>τ χε сε<sup>ς</sup>τ<sup>ι</sup>β<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>τα<sup>ς</sup>λο· ατω π тε<sup>ς</sup>ι ρ<sup>ι</sup>  
αυ<sup>ς</sup>τα<sup>ς</sup>λο<sup>ς</sup> αυ<sup>ς</sup>ρ ρ<sup>ι</sup>ωτ· π тε<sup>ς</sup>ρ ο<sup>ς</sup>το<sup>ς</sup>τε δε ε βο<sup>ς</sup>λ  
πα<sup>ς</sup>χο<sup>ς</sup>τω<sup>ς</sup>т πс<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ι<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>н αυ<sup>ς</sup>но<sup>ς</sup>с πχ<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ι<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>и тω<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и  
ε ρ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ι εχ<sup>ς</sup>ε πχο<sup>ς</sup>ι ρ<sup>ι</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>τε πτε ο<sup>ς</sup>το<sup>ς</sup>и πι<sup>ς</sup>ε εт тα<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>η<sup>ς</sup>т  
ε πχο<sup>ς</sup>ι υт<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>р· тε<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>ε δε αε<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ι иο<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е εт  
αε<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>т πε<sup>ς</sup>χα<sup>ς</sup>τ χε με<sup>ς</sup>ρε πи<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е сω<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>ε ε ρ<sup>ι</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>  
иο<sup>ς</sup>β<sup>ς</sup>е π та με<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>е αλ<sup>ς</sup>λα πе πт<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ϕ<sup>ς</sup>е<sup>ς</sup> ε πа ρη<sup>ς</sup>т  
φи<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ϕ· αс<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>и де αс<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е ρα<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>с αс<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>η<sup>ς</sup>л  
ε πс<sup>ς</sup>а π та<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>и εс<sup>ς</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>ω αε<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>с πф<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е χε πи<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е  
πε<sup>ς</sup>т сο<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и πρ<sup>ι</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>б πи<sup>ς</sup>ε αε<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>т οт<sup>ι</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>е·

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πα

πτο<sup>ς</sup>и εт сο<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и ε πρ<sup>ι</sup>η<sup>ς</sup>т π ο<sup>ς</sup>το<sup>ς</sup>и πи<sup>ς</sup>ε· ατω εκ<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и  
ε пο<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>υ αε πа ρη<sup>ς</sup>т ε ρ<sup>ι</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и ε ρ<sup>ι</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>к· χε π φο<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>υ  
ρа<sup>ς</sup>ι аи οт<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>ε οт<sup>ι</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>б<sup>ς</sup>т πа πе<sup>ς</sup>ι иο<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>с πе· οт<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>ε  
ρυ<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>а π тε<sup>ς</sup>к<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е· ατω υш<sup>ς</sup>а ρа<sup>ς</sup>ι ε та ие  
ψт<sup>ι</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>и μи πа υи<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е· εи<sup>ς</sup> ρ<sup>ι</sup>η<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е ти<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>μ<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>т ρ<sup>ι</sup>  
θα<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>λα<sup>ς</sup>са ε тβ<sup>ς</sup>е πи<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>аи εт οт<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>б<sup>ς</sup>т πа χс ιс πε<sup>ς</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>с  
πс<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>р π та ψт<sup>ι</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>и μи πа πи<sup>ς</sup>а σω<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>т ε ρ<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>ι εχ<sup>ς</sup>ω  
μи πа υи<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е си<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>т πο<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>ф<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>с ит<sup>ι</sup> πа паи·—и  
те<sup>ς</sup>ρ εс<sup>ς</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>е па<sup>ς</sup>ι де αс<sup>ς</sup>χ<sup>ς</sup>и π | οт<sup>ι</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е ρ<sup>ι</sup> тε<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>χ  
π οт<sup>ι</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>и αс<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>е ε βο<sup>ς</sup>л π тс<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е αс<sup>ς</sup>φ<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>з<sup>ι</sup>е  
αε<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>с· αс<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>с π тε<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>β<sup>ς</sup>е π οт<sup>ι</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>и αс<sup>ς</sup>ε<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>е  
ε βο<sup>ς</sup>л π ρη<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>с π υш<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>е π тл<sup>ς</sup>ф<sup>ς</sup>л<sup>ς</sup>е π си<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>ϕ· αс<sup>ς</sup>  
сφ<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>α<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>з<sup>ι</sup>е π тт<sup>ι</sup>е<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>е αε пε<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>υ<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е си<sup>ς</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>т μи тε<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>  
με<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>т ρ<sup>ι</sup> πр<sup>ι</sup>аи αε пе<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>ω<sup>ς</sup>т μи υи<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>е μи  
пе<sup>ς</sup>п<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>а εт οт<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>б<sup>ς</sup>т ε αс<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>с<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>т π υш<sup>ς</sup>ο<sup>ς</sup>и<sup>ς</sup>т π сο<sup>ς</sup>и  
ρи θα<sup>ς</sup>λ<sup>ς</sup>λα<sup>ς</sup>са ρ<sup>ι</sup> πр<sup>ι</sup>аи π тε<sup>ς</sup>т<sup>ι</sup>ρ<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>с εт οт<sup>ι</sup>а<sup>ς</sup>б<sup>ς</sup>т·

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πβ



φοχια. Πισυτε δε πετ ειρε η̄ νεισπιρε  
 ματααῡ ᾱυρεπ̄ πρω̄ν̄ ε̄ παρχνεπισκοπος. η̄  
 тере̄ ч̄ааагте̄ де̄ η̄ η̄шнре̄ котӣ же̄ е̄снавап-  
 ф̄зе̄ а̄ т̄ко̄л̄т̄е̄в̄н̄ора̄ ж̄ос̄ а̄с̄р̄ ω̄не̄.  
 παρχνεπισκοπος δε η̄ тер̄ ч̄па̄т̄ а̄с̄р̄ ш̄н̄н̄ре̄  
 е̄а̄те̄. а̄ч̄к̄е̄л̄е̄те̄ е̄ т̄ре̄ т̄ка̄а̄т̄ п̄са̄ о̄т̄са̄.  
 а̄ч̄от̄е̄р̄са̄г̄не̄ е̄ т̄ре̄ т̄е̄ӣне̄ п̄а̄ч̄ е̄ ρ̄от̄ӣ η̄ η̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄  
 ш̄н̄е̄ η̄ η̄р̄а̄е̄ ρ̄а̄к̄от̄е̄. а̄т̄ω̄ η̄ тер̄ ч̄ар̄х̄е̄ӣ де̄  
 η̄ в̄а̄п̄ф̄зе̄. а̄ т̄ко̄л̄т̄е̄в̄н̄ора̄ р̄ а̄о̄от̄  
 η̄ т̄ес̄ре̄. а̄т̄ω̄ η̄т̄е̄т̄н̄от̄ а̄ч̄к̄е̄л̄е̄те̄ е̄ т̄р̄ т̄е̄ӣне̄  
 п̄а̄ч̄ о̄ӣ. η̄ η̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄ η̄ т̄ес̄г̄ӣе̄ η̄ р̄а̄е̄ т̄а̄п̄ф̄ο̄χ̄ӣа̄.  
 η̄ тер̄ о̄т̄п̄т̄от̄ де̄ е̄ о̄н̄ а̄ т̄ко̄л̄т̄е̄в̄н̄ора̄ р̄ ω̄не̄  
 η̄ т̄ес̄ре̄. а̄ч̄к̄е̄л̄е̄те̄ е̄ т̄ре̄ т̄к̄ω̄ η̄ η̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄ к̄от̄ӣ  
 η̄са̄ о̄т̄са̄ η̄ к̄е̄ с̄оп̄. а̄ч̄к̄е̄л̄е̄те̄ е̄ т̄ре̄ т̄е̄ӣне̄ η̄  
 η̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄ ш̄н̄е̄ η̄ р̄а̄е̄ ρ̄а̄к̄от̄е̄. η̄ тер̄ о̄т̄п̄т̄от̄ де̄  
 е̄ ρ̄от̄ӣ же̄ е̄снавап̄ф̄зе̄ а̄ т̄ко̄л̄т̄е̄в̄н̄ора̄ р̄ а̄о̄от̄  
 η̄ т̄ес̄ре̄. е̄ӣта̄ а̄ч̄от̄е̄р̄са̄г̄не̄ е̄  
 т̄ре̄ т̄е̄ӣне̄ е̄ ρ̄от̄ӣ п̄а̄ч̄ η̄ η̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄ η̄ т̄ес̄г̄ӣе̄ η̄  
 р̄а̄е̄ т̄а̄п̄ф̄ο̄χ̄ӣа̄ а̄ п̄е̄е̄ρ̄ ш̄о̄а̄п̄т̄ η̄ с̄оп̄. а̄т̄ω̄  
 η̄т̄е̄т̄н̄от̄ а̄ п̄е̄о̄от̄ η̄ т̄ко̄л̄т̄е̄в̄н̄ора̄ ж̄ос̄ а̄с̄р̄  
 о̄е̄ η̄ о̄т̄ω̄не̄.

Φατιος δε πετροс παρχνεπισκοπος а̄ч̄к̄е̄л̄е̄те̄  
 а̄ па̄р̄х̄н̄а̄ӣа̄н̄к̄ӣнос̄ е̄ т̄ре̄ ч̄е̄ӣне̄ е̄ о̄н̄ η̄  
 т̄ес̄г̄ӣе̄ η̄ р̄а̄е̄ т̄а̄п̄ф̄ο̄χ̄ӣа̄. а̄т̄ω̄ η̄ тер̄ о̄т̄та̄г̄ос̄  
 е̄ ρ̄а̄т̄с̄ а̄ӣп̄с̄ а̄е̄т̄о̄ е̄ в̄о̄л̄. п̄е̄же̄ παρχνεπ̄-  
 скоπος̄ п̄ас̄ же̄ а̄х̄ӣс̄ е̄ ρ̄о̄ӣ же̄ о̄т̄ п̄е̄ п̄та̄ч̄-  
 ш̄ω̄п̄е̄ а̄а̄а̄. η̄ о̄т̄ а̄ра̄ п̄е̄ п̄та̄ра̄а̄ч̄. а̄т̄ω̄  
 же̄ η̄т̄о̄ о̄т̄ е̄ в̄о̄л̄ т̄ω̄ӣ ρ̄ӣ т̄от̄ѳ̄ӣс̄к̄ӣа̄. η̄ р̄ӣ  
 п̄е̄ а̄ш̄ а̄а̄ п̄о̄л̄ӣс̄. а̄с̄от̄ω̄ш̄н̄ η̄с̄ӣ т̄а̄а̄а̄т̄ η̄  
 η̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄ к̄от̄ӣ п̄е̄ж̄ас̄ а̄а̄ παρχνεπισκοπος̄ же̄  
 а̄п̄т̄ о̄т̄х̄ρῑс̄ф̄а̄л̄ӣ. а̄ӣп̄ п̄а̄е̄ю̄от̄е̄ а̄т̄ω̄ а̄п̄т̄ о̄т̄  
 р̄а̄е̄ т̄а̄п̄ф̄ο̄χ̄ӣа̄. а̄ч̄от̄ω̄ш̄н̄ η̄с̄ӣ παρχνεπισκοπος̄  
 п̄е̄ж̄а̄ч̄ п̄ас̄ же̄ а̄х̄ӣс̄ е̄ ρ̄о̄ӣ же̄ о̄т̄ п̄е̄ п̄та̄ра̄а̄ч̄.  
 εις̄ ρ̄η̄н̄те̄ τ̄ар̄ а̄ӣп̄е̄ п̄ӣот̄те̄ ж̄ӣ η̄ н̄от̄ш̄н̄н̄ре̄ е̄т̄-



μετανοια • ἵπτος δε тесрме пехас же сωтѣ  
е рои па хс̄ н̄ еіωт рїи оуеиптреепгнт • ксоотн  
сар н̄ н̄гісе ет шооп рїи пкосоос • тепоу  
прото де рїи танфоχία нашнре де аур̄ нос  
аτω απ̄ еіσн̄ теткеріа е тра ѡапфзе апмоот •  
αίχοος απ̄ πετειωт же тωотн марон [ῥων] ша  
тполіс ракоте е ратс̄ н̄ твеепт пет отааб̄ •  
птн̄ ѡапфзе н̄ пеншнре • аτω απ̄ есотωш е ρ̄  
паі алла ден не кпзтнос • не птачернт  
апмоот ептоу е жиі :—

[illegible]



Н тер отѣтѣ де пѣхач нас же ѿ теснѣе е тѣе  
от арна потѣаи ꙗко арѣвѣ арпорнѣте и ꙗ  
нехрисѣанос . асѣтѣ ꙗко тѣартѣрос *(sic)*  
мартѣриа рѣ отѣаже ꙗ отѣт же мѣре хрис-  
ѣанос порнѣте . отѣ мѣтѣмѣе егѣвѣлон  
тѣнѣт де пѣт ꙗотѣмѣ арѣч ꙗаи .—

Анон де ꙗ ꙗнасѣтѣ а пѣтѣаже | е ѡл рѣ ꙗко . Fol. 45 a  
пѣро де пѣхач нас же мѣтѣмѣи же ꙗта от- ꙗ  
тѣмѣе мѣмѣт . ꙗтѣс де мѣпѣ сѣтѣмѣ ꙗч е  
пѣтѣрѣ .—Пѣро де асѣтѣмѣ асѣкѣлѣте е тре  
тѣмѣнѣ мѣмѣс е пѣсѣтѣ и ꙗ ꙗотѣрнѣте рѣ пѣрот  
мѣмѣс . ꙗсѣтѣло мѣ пѣсѣмѣре сѣмѣт ежѣ рѣтѣ  
ꙗсѣрѣнѣрот етѣмѣнѣ и ꙗ пѣтѣрнѣт рѣ отѣсѣп . ꙗтѣс  
де асѣтѣ мѣ пѣсѣро . е пѣа ꙗ тѣмѣтѣлѣн асѣ мѣ  
пѣсѣлѣн .

Атѣтѣмѣт ѿ ꙗмѣмѣрѣаѣте же отѣтѣ пѣнѣтѣе рѣмѣе  
мѣмѣт есѣмѣре мѣ пѣтѣтѣмѣ ꙗмѣс пѣмѣ . пѣхач  
же асѣтѣ мѣ пѣсѣро е пѣа ꙗ тѣмѣтѣлѣн асѣ мѣ  
пѣсѣмѣнѣ ꙗтѣтѣнѣт . епѣи аѣ ере пѣсѣтѣ ет ѣтѣмѣ  
тѣмѣт е пѣа ꙗ тѣмѣтѣлѣн ꙗ отѣмѣтѣ пѣмѣ . ꙗтѣт-  
тѣмѣе ꙗтѣмѣнѣ тѣр мѣ пѣмѣрѣмѣсѣс рѣ мѣ мѣа ꙗ  
тѣа . асѣтѣ ꙗта пѣмѣмѣтѣлѣс епѣи ꙗ асѣмѣ е ѡл  
ꙗ рѣтѣ рѣтѣ отѣмѣсѣс . ере пѣнѣтѣе рѣмѣч  
ꙗтѣмѣр рѣмѣе асѣмѣсѣе е рѣч рѣтѣ пѣмѣмѣтѣлѣс  
сѣмѣнѣтѣ е рѣтѣ е рѣч ꙗ не сѣп рѣтѣ пѣсѣнѣч  
ет ѣтѣмѣ ꙗтѣмѣрѣтѣ е ѡл рѣ ꙗ ꙗ . тѣмѣтѣлѣн  
мѣмѣе ꙗтѣсѣа е ѡл рѣ пѣи ꙗ асѣ . отѣ отѣсѣт  
тѣр ꙗтѣа рѣ ꙗкѣмѣ етѣ ꙗаи пѣ пѣсѣтѣ ꙗтѣмѣтѣ  
е рѣч рѣ мѣ мѣа ꙗ тѣа ꙗсѣ мѣ мѣмѣсѣс е асѣмѣи ꙗ  
пѣтѣмѣрѣнѣ мѣ пѣхѣс еасѣмѣрѣ сѣмѣмѣе мѣ ꙗаи Fol. 45 b  
рѣтѣе пѣ пѣрѣмѣтѣс . епѣмѣе де же тѣмѣтѣлѣн ꙗ  
аѣнѣ пѣт рѣ пѣмѣе и ꙗ ѣмѣсѣс мѣ пѣсѣтѣ .  
мѣмѣе де ѿ пѣтѣмѣрѣнѣнѣ мѣмѣи пѣхѣс же  
аѣмѣе пѣмѣе . етѣтѣмѣмѣнѣ ꙗта пѣи ꙗтѣмѣтѣ-



# THE ASKĒTIKON OF APA EPHRAIM

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

## ΠΑΣΚΗΤΙΚΟΝ Ἡ ΑΠΑ ΕΦΡΑΙΜ ΣΠΟΥ ΕΡΟΝ ΨΘ

Πρῆσε ἀνατρεῖτε ααααοι εἰ ὡς αὐτῶ τειντ ἀτ  
αἰψα εἰ πεῖτνεα παῖ εἰ τρα κα ρωι· παλιν  
οἱ πετκας· αἰ πα ρητ ἡσάπαζε ααααοι εἰ τρα  
ὡς αὐτῶ πα νοβ εἰλετχε εἰ τρα σω· ἐπεὶ ἂν  
σε σεαααοτε ααααοι ριτᾶ πεσπατ· κανοτс εἰ  
τρα ὡς αὐτῶ εἰ ροτс εἰ τρα κα ρωι·

Τησῶς αὐτῶ εἰεατοῖν εἰ βολ ρη πετκας αἰ  
πα ρητ· τα ψυχῆ ααααοι εἰ ροι αὐτῶ παβαλ·  
† ρᾶειν ω̄ ααααοι πετ πα† ἡ οτ~~αααα~~οι εἰη τα ἀπε  
αὐτῶ οτ~~αααα~~οι ἡ ρᾶειν· | εἰη πα βαλ ἡταρ~~αααα~~οι· Fol. 46 a  
αἰ περοοτ ααααοι τετ~~αααα~~οι εἰ τῆε ἡ σαψ ἡ τα ψυχῆ Ψα  
εἰ τῆε οἰ ἡτα ψῶς αὐτῶ τκα~~αααα~~οις λο εἰεα~~αααα~~οι  
ρη πετκας· αὐτῶ ἡε εἰη ἡ ἀτ σοοτ~~αααα~~οι αὐτῶ  
α πετ~~αααα~~οι αἰψα· Τειντ~~αααα~~οις ταρ κω ααααοι·  
αἰ εἰεα εἰ πετ ρι ~~αααα~~οι αὐτῶ εἰεαοι εἰρ~~αααα~~οι·  
περε τκα~~αααα~~οις· αἰψα ψῶς αὐτῶ ἡ πετ~~αααα~~οι  
εἰοοτε ρ οτ~~αααα~~οι εἰ βολ πε ἡε ἡ περ~~αααα~~οι οτ~~αααα~~οι  
ἡ τπε εἰ βολ αὐτῶ σεπο~~αααα~~οις ρᾶ πολ~~αααα~~οι αααα  
εἰαοτ~~αααα~~οι· αἰα~~αααα~~οις εἰ πετ ααααοι ρη τειν~~αααα~~οι  
ἡ ρε~~αααα~~οις· αἰψα ρε~~αααα~~οις εἰψα εἰ ἡρ~~αααα~~οι  
αἰψα ἡρ~~αααα~~οις εἰ τ~~αααα~~οι ρη πετ~~αααα~~οις· ἡτοοτ  
αὐτῶ εἰ τ~~αααα~~οις ἡε ἡ ρε~~αααα~~οις ααααοι εἰ παψε σοτ~~αααα~~οι  
τοτ· αὐτῶ οἱ ριτ~~αααα~~οι πετ~~αααα~~οις ααααοις αἰψα πετ~~αααα~~οις  
πολ~~αααα~~οις περε πετ~~αααα~~οις αἰψα πετ ααααοις  
κω εἰ ροοτ· ααααοις ταρ πετ παπατ εἰ πετ~~αααα~~οις  
η̄ τᾶ ψη ρητ~~αααα~~οις ἡ ααααοις πετ παπατ εἰ ροοτ ρη

[illegible][illegible]

Fol. 46 b

Fol. 47 a  
५८









репаскнѣсѣ • ꙗтетнарсѣе ꙗ ꙗетѣеюоте ѿѿ  
етѣеннѣ • кѣта ꙗноуте •

[illegible][illegible]

Ере псѡмѡ шроп наѡ на пшѡѡ ꙗѡмѡте · ꙗ те-  
хриѡ · еѡрѡмѡ ехѡ ꙗѡмѡтѡхѡсѡнт · еѡпѡтѡсѡ (sic)  
ꙗ пѡмѡт · ере пнѡтѡ ꙗѡ прѡт ѡ ншѡмѡ е  
роѡт · аѡ ѡ ꙗѡ нѡтѡсѡ ꙗѡ нѡтѡмѡнѡсѡ · аѡтѡѡ  
е ѡѡ ꙗѡ ѡѡ нѡмѡ еѡроѡт · е тѡмѡ пѡмѡ а пнѡтѡ  
ѡѡмѡ ꙗѡтѡ · аѡмѡ еѡтѡ ꙗѡтѡ · ѡѡмѡ нѡмѡ ет  
мѡмѡмѡ е роѡт ꙗѡ нѡтѡ мѡсѡтѡ е тѡмѡтѡ  
шѡтѡ ѡтѡ е роѡт · ꙗсѡтѡ еѡтѡ ꙗѡ пнѡтѡ ·

[illegible]

Fol. 50 a







[illegible]

Fol. 53 a

pe

Fol. 53 b









ϑηνη· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸν ϑεν ἀτ ϑμοτ τῆναθετε  
 ἄλλοι·—

Чороръ ꙗ̑ ϑнт е ѡн ꙗ̑ꙗ ἄλλон ан ꙗ̑ꙗ·  
 чотωш тар е тре· отон ние· отѡи ꙗ̑се ло  
 ϑе пнобе ꙗ̑се ло ϑе пнобе (sic) же етеклнропо-  
 мей ꙗ̑тѣꙗꙗтеро· пеншѡне тар тнрот ет мѡꙗ̑  
 аѡ ет чоръ аѡр паре е роот ϑꙗ̑ тѣꙗꙗт-  
 аѡѡс· пречѡнаѡт мѡн еѡеѡе ἄλλοι ꙗ̑  
 спотѡиос· еѡтотнос ἄλλοι е ϑоне ꙗ̑ꙗ-  
 нос мѡ ꙗ̑ѡалеос· пет р̑ нѡбе ѡѡѡѡѡс̑ е тр  
 ѡметанѡи ꙗ̑ꙗ наѡ е ѡѡ ꙗ̑ѡ отрот ꙗ̑ ϑнт  
 наѡ е ϑоти е таретн ϑꙗ̑ отриме мѡ отѡѡѡѡ·  
 ꙗ̑ѡ ѡѡѡѡѡс̑ е роѡ ϑꙗ̑ отѡепн же ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗ  
 нѡтн ꙗ̑ ϑнт мѡ пет ϑꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗ̑ꙗ  
 ꙗ̑ таѡѡе ἄ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ· ѡѡѡ таѡ наѡ тнрот  
 ϑа ꙗ̑ѡеке ἄ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ· отꙗ̑ѡѡ мѡн ἄλλοι е  
 соꙗ̑ е роѡ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗ ἀλλὰ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗ· ан е тре  
 тꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ꙗ ꙗ̑ ат карнос· ѡ ꙗ̑ꙗ нѡте  
 ꙗ̑ аѡѡѡс· ѡ ꙗ̑ꙗ нѡте ἄ мѡ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ· ѡ ꙗ̑ꙗ  
 нѡте ꙗ̑ ат ѡѡѡ е роѡ·

Аѡ ἀπὸν тꙗ̑ѡѡѡꙗꙗ· аѡ тꙗ̑ѡѡѡѡѡ· е  
 ѡꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ сѡѡ е ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ  
 е аѡѡѡꙗ̑ аѡѡѡ ϑарон· аѡ тꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗ е  
 ѡꙗ̑ѡѡѡ ἄλλοι· аѡѡꙗ̑ аѡѡ тоотꙗ̑ аѡр  
 отѡепн еꙗ̑ѡ ἄ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗ аѡѡ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ е ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ  
 ϑнт· аѡꙗ̑ꙗ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ тꙗ̑ѡꙗ̑ ет  
 нѡѡ ꙗ̑ отѡепн ние· ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗ  
 е ѡѡ ϑꙗ̑ тꙗ̑ѡꙗ̑ же мѡѡе кеѡѡꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ ϑнт р̑  
 ѡѡе е ѡѡ |

Сѡѡѡ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ сꙗ̑ꙗ ꙗ̑ мѡꙗꙗꙗ· ние ꙗ̑ сѡѡ ꙗ̑  
 еꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ ан ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗ· ние ꙗ̑ еꙗ̑ꙗꙗ-  
 ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗ ан ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ꙗ· ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗ аѡ ꙗ̑  
 ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗ ἄꙗꙗꙗ е тꙗ̑ тре тꙗ̑ѡѡѡѡѡ еꙗ̑ꙗ  
 е ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗ· ꙗ̑ꙗꙗꙗꙗ ꙗ̑ ꙗ̑ ἄ мѡꙗꙗꙗ

Fol. 56 b

pib

Fol. 57 a

pib

ноуте · аш те тїаполюта рѣе пероот ѿ прап  
 ѿ пїахоос же от · пїахоос же ѿеп енсѡтѣ ѿ  
 ѿеп енеіе · ѿ же ѿеп оттаіон · отот отот  
 некѡа отѡде е жон · пѣхач же рендроот  
 асѡтѣ е роот рѣе пѣа ѿ прап · аш се  
 не пероот ѡ на сннѡ пїа прїеіе ѿеп  
 пѣадрѣ ѿ оѡре · аш не прѡѡ ете ѿеп есѣац  
 нап пїа пенѣ пет шооп рїи коѡѡнѣ ѿ  
 пѣеіѡт ·

Пет рѣе пѣісе ѿ ат шаже е роц · ѿеп ѿѡѡіѡц  
 нѣеі е пснт ша рон · пѣ ат наѡ е роц ѿеп  
 ѿеп отнаѡ е роц е тѡнті · Плотос ѿ ат еот  
 асѣі сарѣ асѣі фпе ѿ пѣот га рон · пет ф  
 таіѡ ѿ отон пїеі ѿеп ѿсѡшѣ · ѿеп ѿеп  
 отѣаас е ротн рѣе пѣро · е тѡнті же есѣаат  
 ѿ рѣре · ѡ теі шпнре ет еер ѿ роте · отѡіх  
 ѿ оіе отѡіх ѿ надр рї крїеісе аѡплассе | ѿ- Fol. 57 b  
 еос е ѡѡ рѣе пкар · асѡдеа асѣаас е ротн рїа  
 рѣе про ѿ пѣс не пѣацплассе ѿ тпе ѿеп пкар ·  
 аѡ асѣі е роц рїи отѡѡіѡ · анон рѡѡн пѣ  
 таѡапѡрос пѣііі · е анон · отнадр ѿеп от-  
 крїеіс ѿеп ешѣі е рон · ша пѣаже ѿ неперѣ ·  
 пѣ ат еотѣен ѿепе сѣіфпе ѿ пѣот · псе-  
 тоісѣ е тѡнті · же нас есѣетносї ·

Пн ѿеп ѿѡѡ е ѡѡ ѿ пснатр · ѿ пѣаже · е ас-  
 еорѣ асѣаац е тоотї е тр · псѡѡе ѿеіѡц · е  
 асѣ нап ѿ тезотсїа · е трїрѡіе е жѡц · пѣа-  
 пѡш е драі е роц · ѿ аш пѣоот ѿеп есѡтѣ е  
 рон · нап пѣапѡсї ѿ отнотї есѡтѡш е тре  
 пен ѡеіе ашїа · сѡтѣ ѡ псон ѿ еерїт  
 ешѣаже е рок · ѡ пѣонохос · асїс е роі же  
 пѣапапотассе ѿ пкѡсїеос е тѡе от · ешѣе кпа-  
 шїе он пїа тѣотнїс ѿ пкѡсїеос · нѣ наотѡшѣ  
 наі аи н нѣ напнѣе ѿеіок аи · нѣ соотн аи



наотѣне ꙗко ꙗвише · наꙗтѣ ꙗко петъ насѣтъотѣ ·  
же есѣхꙗ ꙗко ꙗко ꙗви есѣхꙗ:—

[illegible]

ХООТ П ОТПИСѢ АП ОТЕЕ Е ДОТН ЕПНОТЕ ПТАУ-  
 МЕРИТН. ЕШОПЕ АНХООТ ПАИ ПѢРЕ ДА ТННН ЕЕ  
 ТОН П РНТ ЖЕ ЕКНАВОН ЕТЕА П АЕТОН ША ЕНЕР.  
 ЕШОПЕ СЕ АП ЕНХООТ АААТ ДИ РН АААОН. ДН  
 НЕ ИТ АТААООТ. КАП АПР ФНОТБС АЕ ПЕТ  
 ДИТОТОН. АПР ЖИСЕ П РНТ Е ЖОУ. АТΩ Е ТНЕ ОУ  
 ЕКЦІРООТШ ДА ОУШТНН АП ОУРШОН АП ОУТРО-  
 ФН ПАРА ПШН.

Ш ꙗко ѿ еѡрѣи єнѣи ѡдъ єкѣаѡ рѣе пенѣи мѣи  
пекѣ • мѣи петъ саниѹ ꙗко да лаате мѣи ꙗко постоу  
не ꙗсаноути а ꙗко ꙗко рѣи тѣпронога мѣи  
ꙗко карпос ꙗко несиѣхъ •

Πῆρ εἶρε πῆρε ὦ πεινοχός ἀλλὰ θωψῷ εἰς βοῶν  
 ἡ ἐκπαύωπε ἡ κληρονομία αἰ πνοῦτε· ἀτὼ  
 ἐκπύροισι γὰρ ὅτλῃ αἰ πει δῶν·— | κῶ αἰ Fol. 59 b  
 μος κατὰ πενσχῆνα ἡ ἀμὸς αἰ πρὸς μος· ρῖν  
 πάλιν οἱ κλέετε εἰς τὰ πρὸς μος· εἰς τῆς οὗ  
 καπὰ αἰ μὸν ὅτλῃ· εἰς τῆς οὗ κῶ αἰ μὸν  
 αἰ μὸν αἰ μὸν· πῆρος ἡ τῆς ἀποῖα κῖ πῆν  
 εἰς τῶν ἡ αἰ μὸν κῶ αἰ μὸν εἰς πῆρος μὸν.

Анаѣ ѿ пєвѣнн ꙗе пмѡт наєи рп̄ оушп̄ ꙗ  
ушп̄ . аѡо от пет кпахооч . еен кпащхоос  
ꙗе каат . еепр цит теноѡ . каат шан ꙗе-









сѣотъ · а пагоот ѿ хн̄ ап̄ еіеіеіе · а папоѳе  
ашаї

Отои паг ѿ памераате · енар отъ · е тѣе пшпе  
ет пагагои · ап̄ пагоот ап̄ прап ап̄ еіе ет ап̄еаѳ  
ет га роте ап̄ ппаѳ ет отпаѳеѿреі ап̄еіоі п̄сг  
пет соотн ап̄еіоі · еі р̄еі псхн̄еа п̄ т̄еіп̄т̄еіо-  
похос етпаѳ е роі ет̄еакарізе | ап̄еіон п̄се Fol. 62 b  
соотн ап̄ же па са п̄ ротн̄ еер п̄ апоіеа рг р̄на  
акаѳарсіа п̄еі е ап̄ѿѿѿ ап̄ п̄п̄отте паг ет  
ретазе п̄ п̄рнт̄ ап̄ п̄ен̄лооте · он̄тѿс

Относ пе пшпе ап̄ ппаѳ ет ап̄еаѳ ѿ псепн̄т̄ ·  
еаліста относ̄ п̄агапн̄ те · еіеіѳе п̄р̄ ѿа е  
рос п̄еіе отталап̄ѿрос пе прѿеіе ет отпа-  
пох̄ї е ѿа р̄еі пагоот ет ап̄еаѳ р̄ї отшпе ·  
п̄еіе се пет паѿонѳеі е роѿ · ѳѿр̄н̄ е рох̄ п̄ пек-  
еіп̄т̄шан̄гтн̄ѿ ѿ п̄п̄отте ап̄ еаірѿеіе · аѿѿ п̄  
агаѳѿс ап̄р̄ каат рг р̄ѿотр̄ ап̄еіон ап̄р̄ пох̄т̄  
ап̄ п̄ѿаеіе · паг п̄таѳѳноѳс̄ п̄аѿ аѿѿ ап̄р̄  
хоос же п̄ ѳсоотн̄ ап̄еіон ап̄ · ала е тѣе пекна  
ет ош̄ ѳѳе паг п̄росон̄ еі р̄еі псѿеа · етраѿѿ  
еіріеіе ап̄ пагоот ап̄ т̄ѿшн̄ · еіаѿагоіе ех̄п̄  
папоѳе ет̄р̄ѿсѳ̄те па р̄нт̄ · еіеі ап̄ п̄ шѿпе п̄  
техагіс ет̄ отааѳ̄ · кан̄ е ап̄т̄ отр̄ѿр̄ноѳе п̄  
асеѿнс̄ п̄ ѳпадо ап̄ еіѿѿеі е про п̄т̄к̄еіп̄т̄-  
шан̄гтн̄ѿ · кан̄ ап̄т̄ отаеіеінс̄ · п̄ ѳпадо ап̄ р̄ї  
т̄н̄гін̄ па поѳте · ѳсоп̄с̄п̄ ап̄еіон *(sic)* · на сін̄т̄ |  
ѳсоп̄с̄п̄ ап̄еіѿт̄ї ѳпагакалеі ап̄еіѿт̄ї еар̄ї Fol. 63 a  
ріеіе ап̄с̄ї ап̄то е ѿа п̄ т̄ѿшн̄ ап̄ пагоот р̄ї р̄не  
рен̄ш̄л̄н̄ ап̄ р̄ен̄сеіот̄ ап̄ р̄ен̄ѿаіеіос · же нас̄  
п̄не нре е р̄гаі е п̄еа ап̄ пріеіе ап̄ п̄ѿаѿѿ̄ п̄  
п̄ѿѿе ап̄ п̄с̄п̄т̄ · п̄ ат̄ п̄ кот̄н̄ · ап̄ пшпе ап̄  
п̄ежп̄о ап̄ поѳ п̄рап̄ ет̄ шѿѿѿ е ѿа ар̄нт̄

Зіт̄ї ап̄ еіп̄т̄шан̄гтн̄ѿ ап̄ п̄п̄отте п̄ѿаан̄ п̄ ап̄ш̄а  
ап̄ п̄ѿн̄ѿ ш̄а енеі ап̄ пет̄ отааѳ̄ · п̄еа ете ап̄



ANOTHER EPISTLE OF APA EPHRAIM  
TO A BELOVED DISCIPLE

НТОЧ ОН АПА ЕФРАИМ ЕЧСЗАІ Е Fol. 63 b  
РАТЧ Н ОУЦЕРІТ НТАЧ ЕЧХІСВШ ꝤꝤꝤ  
НТООТЧ.

—••—••—••—••—••—••—••—••—••—••—  
Па мєрїт рѣ пѣс шорпї мєн рї рѣ пїе на  
пѣбїю рї тїтапро • ексѣтѡт рї тїсїноѡшѣ  
же нѡ наї е ѡл ексѡотн • же рїтї пѣбїю •  
шаре тѡм тнрѣ м пѣаже ѡхї • аѡ ксѡотн  
н тѣмїтаѡѡс м пѣсар • же аѡжеѡт е тїннїтї •  
аѡшѡпѣ еѡѣбїнѡ • аѡ пїсєнт шѡ рѡаї е  
пѣѡт • пїтон рѡѡн

Па шїре на пѣбїю рї рѡн • мї пѣкїнт • мї  
пѣмѡнѡ • екеї сѡр е пѣбїю ѡтїтаѡ мїаѡ  
пїсѡїтолн • апѡт е ѡѡсѡ еѡшѡтшѡт мїѡѡ  
рѣ пѣбїю • пѣаѡ рї наї же аїѣбїюї а пѣс  
тѡтѡї • аѡ аѡр пїет пѡпѡѡ наї • фѡреї  
рѡѡн па шїре м пѣбїю тѡре пѡретн • м  
пїѡтѡтѡ ÷ шѡпѣ пїмѡн • еѡшѡпѣ ѡ па шїре  
екѡм пѣбїю • мї лѡѡт м пѡѡс пѡсшѡм  
ѡм е рѡн е рѡтн е рѡн • ѡтрѡмѣ еѡѣбїнѡ  
мї шї мїсѡѡнѡї • ѡтрѡмѣ еѡѣбїнѡ мї  
пѡѡс пѡсшѡмѡѡѡ е рѡн е рѡтн е рѡн (sic) • Fol. 64 a  
ѡтрѡмѣ еѡѣбїнѡ мї шї мїсѡѡнѡї • ѡтрѡмѣ ꝤꝤꝤ  
еѡѣбїнѡ ѡѡѡсїѡ тѣ м пїѡтѡтѡ • ѡтрѡмѣ еѡ-  
ѣбїнѡ пїнт

Π πνοуте мотї птоотѣ еїп неѣаттелос · палн  
он шаре паттелос феоот наѣ · отї лоїзе а  
пентаѣпе аретн нїе гї аλλα

Пентаѣпе пеѳѳїо наѣ мекре е лаат п лоїзе  
псѡѣ гї аλλα же аѣшѡпе еѣѳѳїнт · наї не  
наретн а пеѳѳїо · па шнре ка рѡк па шнре ·  
ѣснѣ тар же псаѳе гѡ пеотѡеїш ет аааѣ  
ѣнака рѡѣ · ка рѡк гѡѡк шант отѣнотк ·  
етшанѣнотк · шаже гї отѣншаже еѣѣнн ·  
еѣѳѳїнт · аепр ѡкѡе гѡѡс · ешѡпе ере поѣ  
е рѡк · гѡѡс · аепр шаже етшанѣе гѡшѣе  
пѡсе поѣн нѣ ѡѣш · пекееете же аеп еїѡтѡе  
шаже нїе · | гѡѡѣ пѣнт · ѣї сїен е роот е  
перѡтѡ ·

Fol. 64 b  
рѣн

ѣснѣ тар же ешѡпе прѣѣїре аепшаже аѡ п  
рѣѣѡтѡе аааѣте ан ааон екрѣал ааон па  
шнре · гѡ пѣс · — фѣѡн е тоотї п неїпѡлн  
гї тѣарѣн · нѡтѡ гѡѡк гѣреѣ е роот гї  
тѣептѡтї · анаѣ е патѡс же еѣѣе от · пе-  
ѣѣѣ гї наї же ѣн ексѡѳн

Кѡотн прѣенѣгаї еѡѡаѣ наї ет наѣшѡѡѡе ·  
етѡѡѡн · ѣї сѣѡ гѡѡк е пѣѡт тнрѣ птѣепт-  
ѡѡѡѡѡс · тарншѡпе пшѡтѡерїтн гї неѣѣнѣте  
тнрот · еїшанѣѡк еѡѡѡ е ѣї аа п гнтѣ ·  
птн отѡтї · тоѣн еѡнѡс е рѡк · ере пноуте  
п гнтѣ аепр каѣѣ е ѳѡл · гї тѣѡѡт нѣ ѳѡн  
шѡ не ѡѡ · поѡѡ етїпатѡѣн е рѡѣ · мѡреѣ  
рѡштн же нас · пїне кѣѣѡнѣ наѣ · ѣснѣ тар  
же мн отѡтї ннтї пѣѣѣѡнѣ п прѡѡе · пѡѡѡ  
етн п гнтѣ гѣреѣ е пѣї гѡѣ | аепр пѡт е ѳѡл  
гѡ аа е аа <аепр мѡуте е гѡтн е рѡѡе е  
the тѣѡтнѣс · мїп потѡш п неѣѣѣѡт> а

Fol. 65 a  
рѣѡ

Пр ка мїтшѣнр наѣ мїп рѡѡе прѣѡѡѣ · тарн  
ѡ еѣѡтн · нѣ гї тѡпро п неїнѣ ан ·







# THE LIFE OF JOHN THE MONK

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

ПАІ ПЕ ПΒΙΟΣ Π ΠΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΙΖΑΝ-  
 ΗΝΣ ΠΙΟΝΟΧΟΣ Η ΤΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΙ ΗΤΑ  
 ΗΨΕΙΟΟΤΕ ΣΠΗΕ ΗΑΨ Π ΠΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ  
 ΗΝΟΥΒ· Ε ΑΨΧΗΚ Ε ΒΟΛ Π ΠΨΒΙΟΣ ΕΤ  
 ΗΑΝΟΥΨ ΓΗ ΟΥΠΗΤ ΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΠΗ ΟΥΖΥ-  
 ΠΟΠΟΗ ΕΗΑΝΟΥΣ· Η ΣΟΥ ΨΤΟΟΥ Π  
 ΠΕΒΟΥ· ΠΕΧΙΡ ΓΗ ΟΥΨΕΙΡΗΗΗ ΗΤΕ  
 ΠΗΟΥΤΕ ΣΠΟΥ Ε ΡΟΗ ΤΗΡΗ ΓΑΠΗΗ·—

Πει βιος παρ теноу е ѿнашаже пѣелтї е  
 тѣннтѣ· пара отрѡеи ѿте ппотте пе аѡ  
 ѿ | шотр шпнре ѣеиоу ѿтаѡшпе рѣ пеп-  
 отоиш· паі теноу неѿ ѿтрѡеи шооп рѿ  
 тполіс рѡеи отрѣеао еелате пе· ѿтоу пе  
 пархѡи ѿ тполіс· пѣран пе еѡтропиос·  
 пран ѿтѣсѡи пе ѡеѡѡра· аѡ неѡ ѿрѣ-  
 шѣеѡе нотте ѣпеснат жп тетѣѿткоти·—

Наі де пере шѡѣѿт ѿшнре шооп нат· песнат  
 еи аѡѿ нат ѿ ѡтнос [three-quarters of a line  
 erased] ѿ таѡіс· рѣ ппаλλαѡи ѿѿрѡѡт·  
 ппоти рѡѡу аѡтаѡу е треѣѡи сѡѡ еперѡнте  
 ѣ ппотте· ѣѿѿса наі де аѡеи еиѡш  
 ѿнесхѡласѡнос· аѡ нѣѡи тетѣѿнте пе·  
 паллп ѡи· аѡтсаѡ ѿперѡнте ѣ ппотте аѡ  
 нѣѿнр е тѣѡлнсіа еѡшпне ѿса ппотте· ѣ  
 перѡѡт ѣѿ тетшн·

Fol. 68 a  
 рѣ



Отроот же е вола рѣ отроот ацпарате мѣоу  
 ꙗси отсон мѣ монохос ꙗте тѣотни ет са роти.  
 таи ет отѣотте е рос же нѣте мѣтѣнотѣ ес-  
 отѣу е ѡн е ѡелнѣ. е шлнл рѣ мѣа ет  
 отааб. паи

Де ацшаже мѣ ꙗс роти пѣни. рѣ пшаже мѣ  
 пнотте. ацр шпире ꙗси ѡранинс е перото. *Fol. 68 b*  
 еснаѣ е псон мѣ монохос мѣ пѣсхнѣа. мѣ рлс  
 тѣсѣшшаже ет ролѣ мѣ пѣмѣете. е роти е  
 пнотте ꙗе ꙗ откѣт.:

Пеже ѡранинс. же па жоѣс ꙗ еѣот ꙗток па  
 тѣн. н ере пѣмопастирѣн. н ере пѣмо-  
 пастирѣн *(sic)* тѣн.

Пеже псон мѣ монохос нац же анок ешѣооп рѣ  
 тѣонн ꙗнѣте мѣтѣнотѣ. аѣо рѣшан пнотте  
 рѣнац еѣотѣу е ѡн е ѡелнѣ ꙗташлнл мѣ-  
 аат рѣ пѣа ет отааб. аѣо рѣ потѣу  
 мѣ пнотте. ꙗнактои е па мѣ ꙗне сон. аѣо  
 а пѣмохос тѣоу е тѣе рѣн пѣ ꙗта ѡрани-  
 ннс тѣоу *(sic)* е тѣннтѣ. ꙗ тер ес

Сѣтѣ же ꙗси ꙗс е пѣи шаже ацѣааотте ꙗ тѣи  
 мѣ псон мѣ монохос ацѣитѣ еѣа еѣестѣхаже  
 аѣо ацтарноу ꙗ рѣнно ꙗпаѣу еѣѣо мѣо  
 нац же еѣшанѣѣн па мѣрѣт ꙗсон е ѡелнѣ  
 нѣ нотѣ рѣ ѡѣирннн мѣр рѣн е рои. отѣ  
 мѣр ѡн е тѣмоонн нѣ каат ꙗсѣн е вола же ꙗ  
 ꙗрѣ лаат ан е рок рѣ па ѣѣс тѣрѣ. епѣи ан  
 наѣѣотте мѣ мѣои еѣате пара наснѣ.

Каи ѣар аѣтаат е тоотѣ ꙗ рѣнсѣо/ласѣнос. *Fol. 69 a*  
 аѣо ере па еѣот ѣо мѣо же ꙗнаѣ наѣ ꙗ  
 рѣнно ꙗтаѣи.

Лоппѣ ката нѣт рѣ пѣрѣнт еѣотѣу е ꙗ наѣ  
 ꙗне саѣу ептаѣи еѣѣсе пара тѣу. аѣо  
 мѣнѣа наѣ еѣотѣу епѣ шѣѣет е рои. анок

26 ρωωτ он αἰῶν ε τῆν λησία · αἰωτῶ ε роот  
 етωш рн отаа етωω αἰεος 26 пеоот тнрѣ  
 26 пеі косеос отρωβ ἡσωβε пе · аτω 26 пет  
 накатафронеі 26 пеі косеос нѣотарѣ ἡса  
 пеχс рн отρнт етсортων · мотс нѣнотρῶ ·  
 не ααλста па сон прωме ἡ рѣрнѣе ἡ  
 тαιне · е тῆе паі фсопсἡ αἰеок па еіωт ет  
 отааб · е тре кхит нἡαακ е тῆеотнн · ἡтеу-  
 сωтῶ 26

6 паі ἡσι пеон 26 мпохос · аѣωрἡ н отанащ  
 26 ешанктот фнахитἡ нἡααі е тαιонн ·  
 ἡтеотот

26 аτта26ре пша26е мἡ нетернот ρі отсон · а  
 пота пота αἰеоот мпоше е тῆеотнн рн  
 отеірннн

26 ἡса паі 26 аѣхі шохне ρῶе пѣрнт ἡси пἡα-  
 каріос ἡс етωω αἰеос 26 прωтων мἡн каат |  
 26 таβωκ шἡ наеіооте нтатре тсἡне паі ἡ  
 отетаптелеіон ἡтаωш ρіωωѣ · 26 ἡ фсоотн ан  
 ἡ нентолн 26 пеχс · аτω он фнаβἡтѣ ρῶе пἡα  
 е тἡαβωκ е роѣ · аѣеі 26

6 пнн ἡ нѣіооте · аѣхω е роот ἡ отλοіσε ἡ  
 фἡеіне етωω αἰеос 26 анаτ ὡ наеіооте · 26  
 анок фшооп рн отшне ἡ тἡннте ἡ нашβнр  
 сχολасфнос 26 сешооп тнрот рн тесχолн  
 ере отетаптелеіон ἡ нотῆ ἡтоотѣ 26 пота  
 пота ἡта неіеіооте сἡἡтѣ наτ етωш ρіωωѣ ·  
 анок 26 ρω еіо ἡе ἡ отρнке рн тἡἡннте  
 сἡἡтѣ еіωт αἡαατ н ααατ · аѣпаρтѣ

26 ехἡ пѣρо ἡси ἡс ρα ратот ἡ нѣіооте ет-  
 ωω αἰеос 26 фсопсἡ αἡωтἡ наеіооте ешωт  
 αἡαте тἡсἡне паі ἡ отетаптелеіон ρω 26 нас  
 епаде е роѣ рн наβтх ἡтахі сῶω е βολ ἡ  
 ρнтѣ ·

Fol. 70 a

Fol. 70 b

Ἦσι ἵως αἰῖ πεπονοχος· ἀθήων πατ ἡχιότε·  
 ἀτει δε εχῖ θαλλασα· ετῳμε ἡσα οτῳαι (sic) ε



нак же нас екнаеире **ѿ** пекотѡш **п** рнтѣ **ѿ** п  
некшвнр • тоте п тере пецейѡт еи е ротн **ѿ**  
пнат **ѿ** **ѿ**еере • асѡ е роу **п** рѡѡ п~~ѿ~~ пта  
**ѿ**с жоот нас • **п**тоу **ѿ** асѡтѡшѡ •

Пезау же петѣоташѣ тирѣ фпатаасу нас • ала  
маритѣ отѣраа е роу **п**ѣроис е роу же  
отшнре ш~~ѿ~~ пе • **ѿ**нпоте **п**ѣтакоот • р~~ѿ~~ рен-  
р~~ѿ~~нте етроот • асѣранат **ѿ** **п**си пшаже а-  
м~~ѿ~~те е петшнре **ѿ**с аѡ нас **п** **п**ноѡ •

Аѡ аѡтешу прѣраа е роу • **п** тер ѣѡ **п** **п**ноѡ  
**п**си **ѿ**с аѣи е п~~ѿ~~а ет ере п~~ѿ~~онохос **п** рнтѣ •  
**п**тоу **ѿ** прѣраа ет **ѿ**ооше **п**ѣѣасу пезау  
нас же па жоис **п**сон п~~ѿ~~и рѣраа ет **п**нат е  
роу **п**ѡ | п~~ѿ~~е • ари таѡпн **п**ѣ каасу р~~ѿ~~тн~~ѿ~~ Fol. 72 a  
нтаѡн е п~~ѿ~~а **п** нашвнр ташн~~ѿ~~ е ѡл **р**  
тоотѣт~~ѿ~~ (sic) же етннѡ ш~~ѿ~~а рои тнат • тоте аѣ~~ѿ~~  
**п**си прѣло **ѿ** **ѿ**онохос же еѣшаже **п**ѣѣасу е  
т~~ѿ~~е п~~ѿ~~еѣ **ѿ** п~~ѿ~~ои • ала **п**таѣотѡш епоонѣ (?)  
е т~~ѿ~~е прѣраа ет **ѿ**ооше **п**ѣѣасу • **ѿ**с **ѿ**ѡ  
**ѿ** пше **п**ролокоѡтѣнос аѣи е п~~ѿ~~а **ѿ** **п**ноѡ **п**  
неѣ **ѿ** п~~ѿ~~ои • пезау нас же ф~~ѿ~~сон~~ѿ~~ **ѿ**сон  
па **ѿ** **п**сон же нас енесѣте п~~ѿ~~ои е ѡл •  
**п**т~~ѿ~~ѡн нан р~~ѿ~~и отѣпн • а~~п~~о~~п~~ **ѿ** па сон •  
п~~ѿ~~еѣ **ѿ**

**п** тер ѣѡт~~ѿ~~ е наи же еѣотѡш е ѡн нас  
**п**ѡоте • пезау нас **п**си п~~ѿ~~еѣ же а~~п~~ѡ  
еисѡѣте **ѿ** п~~ѿ~~ои • аѡ а~~п~~ѡ еѣѡ **ѿ**нос на~~п~~  
**п**ке сон же т~~ѿ~~е **ѿ** па ~~ѿ~~и отнѡ те • ала  
ешѡпе ш~~ѿ~~аѡѡ **ѿ** п~~ѿ~~и **ѿ**а • ш~~ѿ~~аѡтаѡе п~~ѿ~~еи  
е п~~ѿ~~ои ш~~ѿ~~аѡтаѡт~~ѿ~~ •

Пезе **ѿ**с же а~~п~~ѡ еѣѡ **ѿ**нос на~~п~~ же ш~~ѿ~~аѡ  
т~~ѿ~~не на~~п~~ ната ѡе **п**танѡос • **п**теѡнѡ **ѿ**  
аѣи~~ѿ~~ е ѡл **ѿ** пше **п**ролокоѡтѣнос **п**тоотѣ  
еѣраше **ѿ**аѡте • аѣѡасу нас еѣѡ **ѿ**нос • же

Fol. 72 b  
 ρεε

не итактаеи | е ροο е пай шайтаат пак ·  
 апат се

Тенот ешопе панр кера ката рон апис п̄ееан  
 е т̄е пнотте · н̄ с̄ет п̄хои е б̄ол ρ̄и отсепн  
 ӣтӣб̄ок пак ӣх̄иоте · п̄нееϥ де̄ а̄ п̄хои ӣ тер̄ ̄  
 С̄от̄а̄ е пак · аϥхӣ а̄ п̄ше̄ ӣролокот̄нос̄ ӣ тот̄̄  
 еϥраше̄ е̄еате · п̄ежаϥ̄ ӣ ῑω̄с̄ · же̄ б̄ок̄ ан̄  
 п̄е̄ш̄б̄нр̄ ӣт̄е̄ · ешопе пот̄ω̄ш̄ а̄ п̄нотте̄ п̄  
 ̄наϥ̄ӣ а̄ п̄ет̄ӣроот̄ш̄ кал̄ωс̄ · аϥнот̄̄  
 Ӣсӣ ιω̄анинс̄ · аϥта̄е̄ п̄сон̄ а̄ м̄оноχ̄ос̄ е ρ̄ω̄б̄  
 п̄а̄ ӣтаϥш̄опе̄ а̄е̄оϥ̄ ·

Ӣӣса̄ ке̄ ροο̄т̄ де̄ сп̄ат̄ п̄е̄же̄ ῑω̄с̄ а̄ п̄м̄оноχ̄ос̄ ·  
 же̄ т̄ωот̄ӣ ӣтӣб̄ок̄ е̄х̄ӣ θ̄αλλ̄аса̄ · е̄п̄е̄ῑ а̄н̄ п̄а̄ӣ  
 п̄е̄ п̄ероот̄ е̄ ̄на̄с̄б̄те̄ п̄ар̄ис̄тон̄ е̄ на̄ш̄б̄нр̄ ·  
 е̄ӣот̄ω̄ш̄ ̄ар̄ е̄ к̄ωте̄ ӣса̄ от̄ш̄н̄е̄ ӣт̄б̄т̄ п̄ат̄ ·  
 а̄т̄е̄ῑ де̄ е̄х̄ӣ θ̄αλλ̄аса̄ ρ̄а̄ пот̄ω̄ш̄ а̄ п̄нотте̄ ·  
 а̄ϥ̄е̄ῑ ӣсӣ от̄т̄н̄т̄ е̄на̄п̄от̄̄ · аϥ̄б̄ок̄ ӣсӣ п̄нееϥ̄  
 а̄ п̄хоӣ а̄ϥ̄а̄ре̄ ρ̄ат̄̄ ӣса̄ п̄е̄ῑ са̄ а̄ п̄хоӣ ӣ от̄-  
 н̄от̄ӣ · а̄ϥ̄ρ̄е̄о̄с̄ а̄ϥ̄ω̄ρ̄а̄ от̄̄е̄ ιω̄анинс̄ (sic) а̄ӣ  
 п̄ке̄ м̄оноχ̄ос̄ же̄ т̄ωот̄ӣ а̄е̄нӣт̄ӣ а̄λ̄ω̄т̄ӣ · е̄п̄е̄т̄  
 ш̄т̄р̄т̄ω̄ρ̄ ̄ар̄ е̄т̄от̄ω̄ш̄ а̄ п̄ω̄ρ̄̄ е̄ п̄ρ̄е̄ρ̄а̄л̄ ӣсе̄-  
 ка̄аϥ̄ ӣс̄ωот̄ а̄п̄ от̄|̄ш̄ӣ θ̄е̄ · ῑω̄с̄ де̄ п̄е̄жаϥ̄ а̄  
 п̄ρ̄е̄ρ̄а̄л̄ е̄т̄ м̄о̄о̄ше̄ п̄̄е̄а̄ϥ̄ же̄ т̄ωот̄ӣ ӣт̄ б̄ок̄  
 е̄ п̄п̄а̄λλ̄а̄̄тон̄ ρ̄а̄рт̄ӣ п̄ес̄χ̄ο̄λ̄ас̄̄нос̄ ӣт̄ п̄ат̄  
 же̄ а̄т̄с̄ω̄от̄̄ т̄ӣрот̄ ӣт̄ е̄ῑ ӣт̄ та̄е̄ӣ ρ̄ӣ от̄сепн̄  
 е̄ῑс̄ ρ̄н̄ӣте̄ ̄σ̄ω̄ш̄т̄ е̄ б̄ол̄ ρ̄н̄т̄ӣ · аϥ̄б̄ок̄ де̄ ӣсӣ  
 п̄ρ̄е̄ρ̄а̄л̄ ·

Ӣтоот̄ де̄ ρ̄ωот̄ а̄т̄та̄лоот̄ ӣт̄е̄п̄от̄ а̄т̄с̄е̄т̄ п̄хоӣ  
 е̄ б̄ол̄ а̄т̄е̄ῑ е̄ т̄е̄он̄ӣ ρ̄а̄ пот̄ω̄ш̄ а̄ п̄нотте̄ ·  
 а̄ϥ̄н̄т̄оϥ̄ де̄

Ӣсӣ п̄ρ̄е̄ρ̄а̄л̄ е̄х̄ӣ θ̄αλλ̄аса̄ а̄п̄ е̄ϥ̄ре̄ е̄ ροο̄т̄ а̄ϥ̄-  
 ш̄тор̄т̄р̄ е̄е̄ате̄ ρ̄а̄ п̄̄̄р̄нт̄ же̄ а̄ра̄ та̄п̄ω̄т̄ ӣта̄  
 т̄а̄ та̄е̄е̄ па̄ ж̄с̄

С̄ита̄ п̄е̄жаϥ̄ он̄ же̄ е̄ῑρ̄ ρ̄оте̄ а̄н̄п̄оте̄ ӣс̄ек̄ω̄те̄ ӣс̄ω̄ӣ

Fol. 73 a  
 ρεε

ἡσεδε ε ροι ἡσεεῖρε καὶ ἡρενнос αε πεθοот·  
 ἀλλὰ φηαβωκ татааеε нахисооге арнт сена-  
 коте ἡсωу ἡтоот· анок де ἡтащωпе ἡ ат  
 роотщ аτω ἡреде

Ἡ тере ссωт<sup>α</sup>е де е наг ἡσι т<sup>ε</sup>εааτ аспωз ἡ  
 несдоите· аτω астаде егати ех<sup>и</sup> тесапе· ас-  
 ріае р<sup>и</sup> относ ἡ ріае· есхω αеиос же отог  
 наг па мегит ἡшнре іωρанинс· от пе нтащ-  
 шωпе αеиок па шнре т<sup>ε</sup>о<sup>л</sup>с отог наг па шнре  
 же ашшонт е пекро ω ωс па шнре | αе мегит· Fol. 73 b  
 отог наг ние пе нтащ<sup>и</sup> αе па р<sup>и</sup>бс ἡ р<sup>и</sup>т· ἡ ре<sup>с</sup>  
 фсоотн ан·

Отог наг ние пе нтащ<sup>и</sup> αе па мегит ἡ шнре  
 пеегит ἡта щ<sup>и</sup>хн·—ω ωс

Па шнре αе мегит· ω потоеи ἡ наба<sup>л</sup>· а<sup>и</sup>хоотн  
 е т<sup>и</sup>е от софа· αе пег де е птωщ ἡтащшωпе  
αеиок

Отог наг па шнре ет εо<sup>л</sup>с ἡнадр<sup>и</sup> отог ние·  
 отог наг па шнре ет<sup>ε</sup>о<sup>л</sup>с па пег ро ет мег ἡ  
 раше ние·

Отог наг пат<sup>и</sup>кωн ἡ παττελос· отог наг ω пе  
 ф<sup>и</sup>аа<sup>с</sup>у х<sup>и</sup>н αепоот е бо<sup>л</sup>· ἡ теі де де он пек<sup>и</sup>е  
 егωт ас<sup>и</sup>ріае· р<sup>и</sup> отащ<sup>и</sup>а<sup>с</sup>о<sup>и</sup>е· αе<sup>и</sup> отк<sup>и</sup>ека<sup>с</sup>  
 ἡ р<sup>и</sup>т· ес<sup>и</sup>х<sup>и</sup>ш<sup>и</sup>на<sup>с</sup> е бо<sup>л</sup> ес<sup>и</sup>хω αеиос· же от  
 пе нтащшωпе αеиок ω па мегит ἡ шнре ἡ  
 фсоотн ан е пе нтащшωпе αеиок р<sup>и</sup> от<sup>и</sup>еп<sup>и</sup>·  
 ἡ тер от<sup>и</sup>хω<sup>с</sup> е бо<sup>л</sup> ἡси псащ<sup>и</sup> ироот ир<sup>и</sup>бс·  
 ере т<sup>и</sup>о<sup>л</sup>с т<sup>и</sup>р<sup>с</sup> р р<sup>и</sup>бс иеааτ· тоте пек<sup>и</sup>е<sup>и</sup>ωт  
 ас<sup>и</sup>т<sup>и</sup>ωотн ас<sup>и</sup>бω<sup>с</sup> е ротн е п<sup>и</sup>а<sup>л</sup>ла<sup>с</sup>фон ас<sup>и</sup>таае  
 п<sup>и</sup>р<sup>и</sup>о е р<sup>и</sup>б<sup>и</sup> ние ἡтащшωпе· аτω ас<sup>и</sup>парака<sup>л</sup>е<sup>и</sup>  
αеио<sup>с</sup> е т<sup>и</sup> εт<sup>и</sup>ноот ἡ отк<sup>и</sup>е<sup>с</sup>т<sup>и</sup>с<sup>и</sup>с е бо<sup>л</sup> р<sup>и</sup>е  
αа ние ἡте тес<sup>и</sup>а<sup>и</sup>теро же нас етеш<sup>и</sup>не Fol. 74 a  
 т<sup>и</sup>н<sup>и</sup>т<sup>и</sup> иеш<sup>и</sup>а<sup>с</sup>к ἡседе е ро<sup>с</sup>· ἡ тере п<sup>и</sup>р<sup>и</sup>о де ре<sup>с</sup>  
 Сωт<sup>α</sup>е е наг ас<sup>и</sup>л<sup>и</sup>т<sup>и</sup>н αеа<sup>с</sup>те р<sup>и</sup> от αека<sup>с</sup> ἡ р<sup>и</sup>т же











Λωπ η ηγεοοτε · ερηε προ εη ηνι αφπαρτη ·  
αφρωσητ εη ηχε εφτω εημοσ · ηε ηχε ις ηεχε  
εις ηνι η ηαεοοτε αηατ ε ροφ εβε† σοηη ηα  
σηηη φρωη εχη τσοη ηηρε εη ηχαηε · ητεσηοτ  
αφρωμοσ

Ἦσι ὡς εἰρηᾶ προ αἱ πτωχῶν αἱ πνι ἢ κητεοοτε .  
αεινκοοτῇ ψα ετοοτε

[illegible]

Пѣишотъ дѣ аѣр̄ пна нѣѣаѣ аѣнааѣ е тр  
ѣреоос ꙗ̄ роти ꙗ̄ пп̄лон ꙗ̄ нѣѣооте . нѣ-  
ѣооте дѣ

Դեւ է ԿՕԼ Խ ԲԻՆԱԾ Ի ԶԻՄԵՐ՝ ԱԾՈ ԱՐԻՆԱԾ Է ՐՈՑԻ  
 ԻՍԻ ԻՄՏ՝ ԱՐԻՄԵ ԵՄԱԵ ՄԱՆԵ ՍԵՐՄԱՆԱ ԶՈՐԻ  
 ԶԻ ՍԵՐՄԱՆԵՐՈՑԵ՝ ԻՄՏ ՔԵ ԱՐՄԱՋԵ ԽԻ ՍԵՐՄԵՐԵ  
 ԽԽԽ ԽԽԽԻ ԵՐՋՈ ԽԽԽ՝ ՔԵ ԵՐՍ ՆԱԵՐՈՑԵ  
 ԱԿՏՐԱՆԱԾ Է ՐՈՑԻ:—

Тѣмъ же онъ ꙗвистеся же екиатрагоу ехѣ  
тѣмъ тѣмъ. ꙗже

Πτερινοτ δε αφριμε ησι ιωσ γη γεν κε ρηειοστε.  
ετοιμ εφτω ημος . δε

Πα ρε ιε πεχε επρ καат псѡк · αςρεμοος δε  
 ρε πλων η πεφειοоте η οτρομεпе есхнк е  
 бол · ατω

Нере пѣсѣиѡт тїноѡѡт наѣ ѿтѣре ѿ ѡннне рї

Fol. 77 b  
PH2

[illegible]

Іωραинис δε περαυ παυ θε ϑεοπειν αλλοκ πα  
сон · пна ет кєире αλλοу пееаи гаѡн αποот  
αпр доуρωт αλλοу · αλλα ιτωу екетаαио пай  
п откоти пкаλθβн ей откоти αλλα ιтаβωк





Fol. 80 b  
PZ.

Fol. 81 a

p3a

[illegible]











(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7027)

[illegible]



[illegible]

Цѣпѣсѣ аѣеѣѣѣ е ѡѡ ѡѣ па ѡѣт · е пе ѣт аѣаѣѣ  
 аѣѣ ѡѣтѣ · аѣѣѣѣ ѣѣѣѣ аѣѣ | аѣѣѣѣ · ѡѣ Fol. 4 u  
 ѡѣѣѣѣѣѣ аѣеѣѣѣѣ е ѡѡ ѡѣ па ѡѣт е пе ѣт ѣ  
 аѣаѣѣ аѣѣ ѡѣтѣ · аѣѣѣѣ ѣѣѣѣ · аѣѣ аѣѣѣѣ  
 ѣѣѣѣѣ ѡѣ ѡѣѣѣѣѣѣ · аѣеѣѣѣѣ е ѡѡ ѡѣ





[illegible]

Апон де алпартъ да нецотрните же еснар па-  
меете нѣсмот е рои. ꙗкоу де аѣсмот е рои  
есѡ ѡмоос же ере пѣс смот е рои. нѣназ-  
мек ꙗворѡс ѡ палабѡтлос аѡ нѣнаан рѣ  
нецрѡоте тнрот ет нанѡот | н отоеиш ние. Fol. 6a  
екпнт е ратѡ ꙗ нет отааб. ꙗ тер ѡотѡ де ꙗ  
ессмот е рои а та боие еи е рои. рѡс те етѡ тра  
аѡане. е птнрѣ же фѡкоет. н фѡе. ꙗ тер  
инаѡ де е фнос ꙗ шпнре ꙗтастаѡи. аѡѡотн  
аѡѡѡе. е рѡтн рѡ птѡот.

И тере чтоот де проот оуеице аѡ  
аипωрѣ ꙗꝑасѣ е ѡраі е тпє · ашлнл · аѡ  
еіс прѡее ꙗꝑасѣ шѡ роі ꙗꝑорꙗ · аѣі шѡ роі  
он аѣѣоє паї ꙗѣ ꙗꝑероєте · ѡплѡс а  
пеєр чтоот · проот оуеице · єімооше е ротк ꙗ



пероот ꙗꙗ пещотѡнѣ е вола рꙗꙗ пинѣ. пѣжа  
наѣ же наеюоте. отъ отъ неѣ рꙗꙗ пѣжае.  
сесотѣ ꙗꙗ рото е рон. аном тар еис рннте тѣ-  
наѣ епепернѣ ꙗꙗ ѡнне. аѣ тѣсоотѣ ꙗꙗ  
сѣнаѣс рѣ отсѣп. епѣанѣко. тѣрнѣ е рѣ  
еѣсѣтѣтѣ нап. ꙗꙗнаеѣе. тѣрнѣ е ѡотѣ еѣ.  
ꙗꙗ ѣанѣ аѣ ѣѣ ѣаѣѣ тоотѣ. рѣтѣ неѣснѣ.  
аѣ ꙗꙗнаеѣеѣѣ еѣсѣѣѣѣ еѣѣѣѣ. тѣ-  
ѣаѣѣѣѣ ѣѣѣѣ ꙗꙗнаеѣѣ е тѣѣ ѣѣѣѣѣ. ꙗꙗ  
пѣѣѣѣѣ.

[illegible]

Чснꙋ сар зѣ ꙗсаіас • же пет зꙋпомене • е пѣ  
нашѣ ꙗ тетсое • сепареттѣ ꙗе | ꙗ ꙗаі- Fol. 8 b  
тос • сепапот ꙗсетѣ зє • сепалеоше ꙗсетѣ ꙗс  
зко • азхоос же сепан ꙗеоот пат е хол зѣ  
отпетра • етшанзко • Де он шачтре ꙗботанн  
ет зѣ тсаше • злоз зѣ теттапро • ꙗе ꙗ отевѣо •  
есролѣ ршан отѣлиц • тазоот ꙗ ꙗте отнин-  
знос • тѣотн е жѣот • ꙗтегноз шачпѣрш ꙗ  
петсѣх е хол ꙗсешлнл • е прро ꙗс • шанте тѣ-  
хонѣа тазоот зѣ отсепн • ꙗѣхоот е хол ꙗте-

[illegible][illegible]

17

## III

И тере пнат де е роу аѡтѡштѣ наѣ. ꙗкоу де  
 аѣтѡтѡштѣ аѣспазе ꙗааааа. пѣхѣ наг же  
 ꙗтѡк не онѡфрѡс па|шѣнр ꙑ рѡѣ рѣе пѣс. Fol. 10 a  
 ааааа е рѡтѡ пѣс ꙗааааа. нѣ ааааа ꙗа фѡѣ ꙑѡ  
 ет напѡтѣ. нѣ аѣтааааа е роу. аѣѡѡ де  
 е рѡтѡ аѣааааа рѣ рѣнѣ. ꙑ рѣнѡтѡ ꙑаааа.  
 аѣаѣѡ ꙑѡт ꙑт ааааааа. е ѡѡ рѣ тѡтѣ.  
 Аѡ аѣтааааа е тѡнр рѡѣ е пѣааа. ꙑ тере  
 ѣнат де же аѣаааа е пѡѡѡаааа ет рѣн аа  
 ꙑ рѡте ет ѡѡ рѣе пѣааа. аѣѡаааа наг же  
 тѡтѡ ааааа па шѣре. таѣтѣ. еѡаа ꙑ  
 аааа. рѣ терѡаааа ет рѣ рѡтѡ. нѣ ѡѡ ꙑ  
 рѣтѣ аааааа е тѣ пѡтѣ. еѡ аа ꙑта пѣс  
 пѡтѣ тѡшѣ е пѣ рѡѣ е тре ѡѡѡ ꙑаааа.  
 ꙑтѣнѡ аѣтѡтѡ аѣаааааа ꙗааааа е рѡтѡ е  
 пѣааа ꙑ аѣтѡаа ꙑаааа аа ааааа. рѣе пѣѡѡ  
 де ꙑ ѣтѡаа ꙑаааа. аааа еѣн ѡтѡтѡ ꙑ ѡа-  
 аѡѣн. пѣхѣ наг же паг не пѣа ꙑт а пѣс  
 тѡшѣ наа. е тре ѡѡѡ ꙑ рѣтѣ аѣааааа | де Fol. 10 b  
 рѣ рѣтѡ ꙑ ѡѡѡт ꙑааааа ѡаа ааааа ет ꙑѡ  
 напѡтѣ ет ааааа е роу е ааѣ.

Шпѣсѡе а҃сѣиоуше е ѿла рї тоотъ . а҃ѡ ꙗ҃наѡ е  
непернѡ . ꙗ҃ о҃тсоп те роупе . ѡа пероотъ .  
ꙗ҃таѡна сѡма е граї . а҃ѡ а҃ѡмѣс̄ а҃ѣиоу рѣ  
птопос етѣ ꙗ҃ рнѣѣ . пѣжаї дѣ наѣ же па мѣрт  
ꙗ҃ еіѡт ет напотоу . ара ꙗ҃ тархн . ꙗ҃такѣ е пѣ  
ма . а҃грісе жн̄ ма пе . пѣжачу наї ꙗ҃си прѣло  
ма макаріос . же а҃грісе тѡпѡт . ꙗ҃ отѣнише  
ꙗ҃ соп е тѣе перко . ма пѣѣе . а҃ѡ е тѣе пкѡрѣ  
ет ꙗ҃ ѿла ма пероотъ . ма пноѡ ꙗ҃ жаѣ ꙗ҃ тетшн .  
а насарѣѡ ѡѡз е ѿла рн̄ тейоте ꙗ҃ тпе . ꙗ҃ тере  
пноутте дѣ же а҃грѣпомене рѣ паѡн . ет  
папотоу . ꙗ҃ тннѣѡа . а҃ѡ же а҃ѣ ма парнтъ . е

Fol. 11 a

таскнсіс . а҃ѣтре ꙗ҃апѣелос ет ѡаав̄ диа|κωνει н̄а

наи · ꙗ та трофи ꙗ ѿнине · еѣ ꙗеос наи ꙗ  
 тетши · еѣтаго е ратѣ ꙗ па сѡеа · аѡ пере  
 фѣине · тако е воѡ · наи ꙗ ѿнѣсноотс · ꙗ лоот  
 те роѡпе ката еѡт де неѡтѡе ꙗ ѡлоот ·  
 аѡ он ꙗ не ѡтапи ет рнт ѡи птоот · аѣтрет  
 ѡлоот ѡи та тапро · ꙗе ꙗ ѡѣѡиѡ (*sic*) ·

Чснѡ тар же пере прѡе наѡнѡ ап еоеи  
 маѡаѣ аѡла е ѡаже нѡе ет ннѡ е воѡ ѡи  
 ттапро ꙗ пнотте · ере прѡе наѡнѡ е роот ·  
 екѡанѡ потѡѡ ꙗ пнотте ѡнаѣ ꙗ пекроотѡ ·  
 ѡе ма нѡе · пѡаѣ тар ѡе пѡаѣѡи  
 ет ѡѡаѡ · же ꙗпѡ ѡроотѡ же ѡ пе пет ет  
 неѡтѡе · ꙗ ѡ пе пет етнесѡѣ · ꙗ ѡ пе  
 пет етпѡаѣ ѡѡт тнѡтѡ · петѡеѡт ет ѡи  
 ꙗ пнѡе · соотн ꙗ пет етѡ р ѡриа ꙗеѡѣ | ꙗп  
 атетѡаѡе ꙗеѡѣ · ѡнѡ ꙗѡ ꙗса тѣѡнѡро  
 ꙗп тѣѡнаѡѡтнн · аѡ наи сѡаѡѡѡѡт е  
 рѡтѡ · Наи де ꙗ тер еѡѡѡе е роот · аѡѡнѡ  
 еѡаѡе · пѡаи наѣ же ѡ па еѡт ет ѡѡаѡ ·  
 еѡаѡѡнѡе тѡн ꙗ пѡаѡѡѡѡт ꙗп тѡѡриаѡн ·  
 ꙗѡѣ де пѡаѣ наи же ѡ па еѡт ет ѡѡаѡ ·  
 ѡннѡ ꙗѡ ѡѡѡѡѡѡ · ꙗѡ пнотте · еѡѡнѡ  
 наѡе ꙗеѡи ꙗ пѡаѡѡѡѡт ꙗп тѡѡриаѡн · аѡ  
 ѡѡн нѡе еѡѡе пѡаѡе · ет пѡѡѡѡѡе е тѡе  
 пнотте · аѡ еѡѡ наѡ е рѡе · ѡннѡ ꙗѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡѡѡ · пѡѡѡѡѡе ꙗеѡѡ · аѡ пѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡ ·

Еѡѡап епѡѡѡе де он е наѡ е рѡе · ѡѡѡаѡа  
 ѡѡѡѡѡе ꙗеѡѡѡ · епѡѡѡѡѡѡ · ꙗсѡаѡ е  
 неѡ ѡѡаѡ тнѡѡ · ꙗсѡѡѡѡе ꙗеѡѡѡ ꙗѡ  
 пѡѡѡѡѡ · ѡ ѡѡѡѡ ꙗсѡѡѡѡѡ аѡ ꙗсѡѡѡѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡѡ · ꙗп пнотте ѡи ꙗѡѡѡѡ ет ꙗѡѡѡ  
 ѡѡѡѡѡ де е роот ѡѡѡѡѡѡ ꙗсѡѡѡѡѡѡ  
 пѡѡѡѡ же аѡѡѡ ѡѡе е пѡѡѡѡ · ꙗпѡѡѡѡ он ꙗ

Fol. 11 b  
 kb

Fol. 12 a  
 kb

[illegible][illegible]

ша ртооте. ꙗ тере ртооте де шопе апаѣ е  
 пещро ꙗт аѣшѣ аѣпоне. рѡс нѣр ѡе ꙗ не-  
 рѡе аѣр ѡе ꙗ отнѡрт тнрѣ. аѡ а тещ-  
 мортн ꙗ роте наг емае. ꙗтоѣ де пещаѣ наг.  
 же аѣпр рроте па сон. па пнотте. ꙗта пхѣ тар  
 тѣноотн еѣ проотш аѣ па сѡеа нѣ тоесѣ |  
 ргаг тар рѣ поот ꙗроот ꙗнажѡн е ѡол ꙗ  
 таоконома таѡн е пѣа ꙗ аѣтон ша епер.  
 несот аѣптасе тар аѣ пѣбот паѡне пе пероот  
 ет аѣаѣ. пещаѣ он наг же екшанѡн екне  
 тащѡеиш аѣ па р пѣеѣе. еѣѣ потѣ ꙗ  
 неснѣ. пет наѣ ꙗ отпросѣора. рѣ па ран  
 еѣр пѣеѣе наг. ꙗс рѡѡѣ наѣтѣ рѣ тшорп  
 ꙗотнот аѣ пшѡ ꙗропѣ. апок де пѣаг наѣ.  
 же ешѡне отрѣке пе еѣп [ш]ѡе аѣеѣѣ. еѣ  
 ꙗ отпросѣора аѣ пѣран. пещаѣ наг же  
 мареѣѣѣ отсон ꙗ рѣке рѣ па ран.

Пѣаѣ (sic) наг (sic) же ешѡне отрѣке пе аѣп шѡе  
 аѣеѣѣ етѣѣѣѣѣ. кнаѣтѣ аѣ е пѣтпнѡн ꙗ  
 тшорп ꙗ отнот аѣ пшѡ ꙗропѣ. пѣаѣ наѣ  
 же мареѣѣѣ отнот ꙗ стог рѣ па ран. апок де  
 пѣаг | наѣ. же ешѡне. отрѣке пе аѣп шѡе  
 аѣеѣѣ еѣ стог. е ргаг аѣ пѣран. е тѣе тѣп-  
 рѣке. аѣо па еѣот ет напѡтѣ маре пѣна тарѡ  
 тнрп же пет ꙗнаѣтег аѣеѣѣ ꙗт аѣ пнотте.  
 пнотте натаѣѣ наг. пѣаѣ наг же мареѣѣѣ  
 ратѣ нѣже шѡеѣт ꙗсон ꙗшлѣ е пнотте.  
 рѣ па ран аѡ пхѣ ꙗс наѣтѣ е пшѡ ꙗропѣ.  
 нѣнлѣропѣеѣ аѣп нет ѡѣаѣ тнрот. апок де  
 пѣаг наѣ же ѡ па еѣот ет ѡѣаѣ. ешѡне ꙗѣ-  
 пша. ꙗѡѡш етра шѡне. рѣ пѣтопѡс. ет  
 ѡѣаѣ екшанлѡ рѣ пѣг сѡеа. пѣаѣ наг же  
 аѣпѡр па шнре. аѣп ѡтѡшѣ тар е ꙗѡно-  
 нѣа. аѣла ꙗта пхѣ тошѣ еѣсѡлѣ ꙗ нес-

Fol. 13 b

нѣ

Fol. 14 a

нѣ















αἰμοι ρα ρητ̃· αἰ εἰντ̃ ἡροοτ̃· αὐω αἰ̃ω ε  
 роот̃ ἡ̃е ἡ̃тасш̃ωп̃е αἰμοι· ἡ̃ тоот̃ де п̃ежа̃т̃ же  
 ἀλ̃νω̃с ἀκ̃ε̃п̃ш̃а ἡ̃ ο̃т̃но̃с ἡ̃ ρ̃е̃о̃т̃· не ρ̃е̃п̃е̃и̃-  
 по̃т̃е с̃ар̃ не п̃ес̃н̃н̃т̃· е̃т̃ αἰ̃ε̃а̃т̃· αὐω не ρ̃е̃п̃  
 а̃т̃ω̃п̃и̃с̃т̃н̃с̃ не· ἡ̃ρ̃е̃ц̃ш̃α̃и̃ш̃е̃ αἰ̃ п̃но̃т̃е ρ̃α̃ п̃е̃т̃-  
 ρ̃н̃т̃ т̃и̃р̃ц̃̃· αὐω п̃е̃т̃ε̃а̃ ἡ̃ ш̃ω̃п̃е̃ не ш̃и̃н̃т̃· а̃т̃-  
 с̃е̃п̃и̃ де а̃т̃с̃ра̃и̃ ἡ̃ п̃е̃и̃ ш̃а̃же̃ ἡ̃т̃а̃т̃с̃о̃т̃е̃о̃т̃ е̃ в̃о̃л̃  
 ρ̃и̃ тоот̃ц̃̃ ἡ̃ а̃п̃а п̃а̃п̃но̃т̃е̃ а̃т̃а̃х̃т̃ а̃т̃а̃а̃т̃ е̃т̃-  
 ж̃ω̃ω̃е̃· а̃т̃ж̃о̃о̃т̃ц̃̃ е̃ ш̃и̃н̃т̃· а̃т̃на̃а̃ц̃̃ ρ̃и̃ т̃и̃κ̃л̃н̃-  
 с̃и̃а̃ е̃т̃ρ̃н̃т̃· ἡ̃ не̃т̃ п̃а̃с̃ω̃т̃α̃̃ е̃ ρ̃о̃ц̃ а̃т̃ω̃ п̃е̃т̃ш̃а̃же̃  
 ἡ̃ ρ̃н̃т̃ц̃̃· е̃ц̃ѿ̃ αἰ̃ м̃е̃л̃е̃т̃н̃е̃и̃с̃̃ на̃т̃ ρ̃и̃ та̃п̃ро̃ | ἡ̃ Col. 21  
 о̃т̃о̃п̃ н̃и̃е̃· е̃т̃ѣ̃о̃о̃т̃ αἰ̃ п̃но̃т̃е̃ а̃т̃ω̃ е̃т̃с̃е̃и̃о̃т̃ αἰ̃в̃  
 е̃ п̃е̃ц̃п̃е̃т̃ о̃т̃а̃а̃в̃· ρ̃и̃т̃и̃ т̃е̃х̃а̃р̃и̃с̃· αἰ̃п̃ т̃е̃п̃т̃-  
 м̃а̃и̃р̃ω̃е̃е̃ αἰ̃ п̃е̃п̃ж̃с̃̃ iс̃ п̃е̃х̃с̃̃· п̃а̃и̃ е̃ в̃о̃л̃ ρ̃и̃  
 тоот̃ц̃̃ п̃е̃о̃о̃т̃ на̃ц̃ αἰ̃п̃ п̃ѣ̃и̃ω̃т̃ ἡ̃ а̃т̃а̃θ̃о̃с̃ αἰ̃п̃  
 п̃е̃п̃и̃а̃̃ е̃т̃ о̃т̃а̃а̃в̃ ш̃а̃ е̃п̃е̃ρ̃ ἡ̃ е̃п̃е̃ρ̃· ρ̃а̃е̃н̃н̃·

COLOPHON

е̃т̃ω̃ β̃и̃κ̃т̃ω̃ρ̃ ε̃λ̃а̃х̃[и̃с̃т̃о̃с̃] α̃и̃а̃н̃о̃[п̃о̃с̃] τ̃ѿ̃ м̃а̃ка̃р̃и̃о̃с̃  
 м̃е̃р̃к̃о̃т̃р̃и̃о̃с̃ α̃и̃а̃н̃о̃[п̃о̃с̃] τ̃о̃т̃ а̃т̃и̃о̃т̃ м̃е̃р̃[к̃т̃р̃и̃о̃т̃]  
 м̃е̃с̃а̃с̃т̃р̃а̃т̃и̃λ̃а̃т̃а̃ а̃п̃о̃ т̃н̃с̃ п̃о̃λ̃е̃о̃с̃ λ̃а̃т̃ω̃п̃  
 е̃т̃р̃а̃ψ̃а̃с̃ β̃и̃β̃λ̃о̃с̃ αἰ̃н̃и̃с̃ѿ̃ м̃о̃т̃̃ к̃е̃ о̃т̃а̃п̃  
 ε̃λ̃ѿ̃н̃с̃ е̃п̃ т̃и̃ β̃а̃с̃ι̃λ̃и̃а̃ с̃о̃т̃

е̃т̃р̃а̃ф̃н̃и̃е̃т̃и̃н̃ τ̃ѿ̃β̃и̃ τ̃̃ а̃п̃о̃ τ̃ω̃п̃ а̃т̃и̃о̃п̃ м̃а̃р̃-  
 т̃[ѿ̃ρ̃ω̃п̃и̃] ψ̃к̃а̃ е̃т̃о̃т̃с̃ т̃з̃е̃ ι̃п̃<sup>α</sup> τ̃̃

ϙ̃̃ ρ̃и̃т̃и̃ де̃сп̃о̃з̃а̃н̃ αἰ̃п̃ т̃е̃п̃т̃ѣ̃а̃и̃ро̃о̃т̃ш̃ ἡ̃ не̃п̃е̃и̃о̃о̃т̃е̃  
 αἰ̃п̃ п̃а̃м̃е̃р̃а̃т̃е̃ ἡ̃с̃н̃н̃т̃ а̃β̃β̃а̃ а̃β̃ρ̃а̃ρ̃а̃е̃ п̃е̃-  
 п̃р̃а̃е̃и̃с̃т̃о̃с̃ αἰ̃п̃ αἰ̃п̃ п̃а̃р̃х̃[и̃] α̃и̃а̃н̃о̃[п̃о̃с̃] а̃β̃β̃а̃  
 х̃а̃н̃λ̃ αἰ̃п̃ п̃з̃е̃т̃з̃е̃л̃а̃р̃н̃с̃ з̃а̃х̃а̃р̃и̃а̃с̃ п̃а̃и̃а̃-  
 н̃о̃[п̃о̃с̃] а̃т̃ω̃ п̃и̃о̃п̃о̃х̃о̃с̃ αἰ̃ п̃и̃о̃н̃а̃с̃т̃и̃ρ̃и̃о̃п̃  
 αἰ̃ ф̃а̃т̃и̃о̃с̃ м̃е̃р̃[к̃о̃т̃р̃и̃о̃с̃] п̃е̃с̃т̃р̃а̃т̃и̃λ̃а̃т̃н̃с̃





DISCOURSE ON ABBATŌN BY TIMOTHY,  
ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7025)

Α Ψ ΙϞ ✠ ΧϚ

ΟΥΕΥΚΗΣΗΘΗ Ε ΛΥΤΑΥΟΥΧΗ ΗΣΙ ΠΕΝ Fol. 1 a  
 ΠΕΤ ΟΥΛΑΒ Η ΕΪΨΤ ΕΤ ΤΑΪΗΥ ΚΑΤΑ α  
 ΣΠΟΤ ΗΠ· ΑΠΑ ΤΙΟΘΕΟΣ ΠΑΡΧΗ-  
 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ Η ΡΑΚΟΤΕ· ΗΤΑΥΤΑΥΟΥΧ  
 ΔΕ Ε ΤΒΕ ΠΤΑΖΩ Ε ΡΑΤΨ Η ΑΒΒΑΤΨΗ  
 ΠΑΥΓΕΛΟΣ Ψ ΠΟΥ· ΖΨ ΠΤΡΕ ΗΕΝΕΙΟΟΤΕ  
 ΕΤ ΟΥΛΑΒ ΗΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ· ΑΪΤΕΙ Ψ ΠΣΗΡ  
 Ε ΤΒΗΗΤΨ ΧΕ ΕΥΕΤΑΨΕΟΕΨ ΨΠΟΥ Η  
 ΤΨΗΤΡΨΗΕ ΤΗΡϚ ΕΥΣΟΟΥΗ ΧΕ ΣΕΗΛ-  
 ΨΗΕ ΗΣΑ ΖΨΒ ΗΠ Ε ΒΟΛ ΖΪ ΤΟΟΤΟΥ·  
 ΠΣΗΡ ΔΕ ΨΠΕ ΧΟΥΨ Ψ Ε ΛΥΠΗ ΨΠΟΥ  
 ΖΗ ΑΛΛΥ ΗΖΨΒ ΕΤΟΥΑΪΤΕΪ ΨΠΟΥ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΖΪ ΤΟΟΤΨ ΛΥΤΑΠΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΖΟΥΟΥ ΗΤΕ ΠΑ ΕΨΤ ΤΑΖΟΥ Ε ΡΑΤΨ  
 Η ΖΗΤΨ ΠΕ ΣΟΥ ΠΗΤΨΟΨΤΕ Ψ ΠΕΒΟΤ  
 ΛΘΨΡ· ΑΧΑΛΥ ΗΡΡΩ ΕΧΨ ΠΣΗΗΤ ΤΗΡΨ  
 ΗΤΑΥΤΑΨΙΟΥ· Ε ΤΒΕ ΤΠΑΡΑΒΑΣΙΣ Η  
 ΑΔΑΠ ΨΗ ΕΥΖΑ· ΗΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΗ ΠΑΡΧΗ-  
 ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΝΕΧΟΥΨ Ψ Ε ΕΨΕ Ε ΘΕ Fol. 1 b  
 ΗΤΑ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΑΛΥ ΗΖΟΤΕ ΖΪ ΨΤΟΡΤΡ· β



нагатот ꙗ нет отаабъ гѣ терѣн | еѣ нет мѡоше Fol. 2 b  
 гѣ пполюс еѣ пхѣ. 2

Нагатот ꙗ нет отаабъ еѣ нет шине ꙗсѡт.

Нагатот ꙗ нет мѡтшт ꙗ ꙗѣѣнтѣнтре нет  
 шине ꙗсѡч гѣ петрѣнт тирѣ.

Аѡ он же нет шине ꙗса пхоеис ꙗсенашѡѡт ан  
 ꙗагаѡон нѣе.

Аш не нет шине ꙗса пхоеис:—Ш намерате.  
 сѡтѣ гѣ отѣ гтнѣ ѡ еѣ мѣѣ сѡтѣ. Нет шине  
 ꙗса пхоеис не рѡе нѣе еѣмѣлнта еѣ пѣпно-  
 мѡс еѣ пѣцентѡлн еѣ пѣцаѣаѡмѣ еѣ пе-  
 роот еѣ тетшн ката пет снѣ же ꙗне пполюс  
 еѣ ппотте сѣ тентапрѡ е ѡл. аѡ он же шше  
 е рѡе нѣе ꙗ | хрисѣанос е мѣр гнтѣ е ѡл Fol. 3 a  
 гѣ ꙗкарпос ꙗ ꙗѣспотот ꙗѡе ꙗ отѣре ꙗ ѣ  
 сѡмѣѣѡн.

Нет шине ꙗса пхоеис не рѡе нѣе ет шине ꙗса  
 птаѣо е ратѣ ꙗ ꙗаѣѣлѡс еѣ ппотте еѡѡѡнѣ  
 е ѡл еѣ петр пѣеѣе ет отаабъ.

Нет шине ꙗса пхоеис не рѡе нѣе ет шине ꙗса  
 ꙗѣпет отаабъ ет ѣѣ еѣ проотш ꙗ петрѣсе. ꙗт  
 аѡшопот ꙗсекаѡт гѣ неѣѣлнѣѣѣ.

Нет шине ꙗса пхоеис не рѡе нѣе еѣѣ аѣапн гѣ  
 просѣѡра еѣ ппотте гѣ петр пѣеѣе ет отаабъ  
 пота пота ката тетѣѡе.

Нет шине ꙗса пхѣ | не рѡе нѣе еѣѣ еѣѣ еѣѣ Fol. 3 b  
 шѣѣѣѣѣ. еѣ мѣѣ гнтѣ. еѣѣ гѣѡѡт ꙗ нет кн на ѣ  
 гнт гѣ пшѣ ꙗ нет отаабъ пота пота ката  
 тетѣѡе. Е the паѣ ѡе наснѣт намерате  
 мѣрѣѣѣ еѣ пероот ꙗ нет отаабъ пота пота  
 ката тетѣѡе. Е the паѣ ѡе наснѣт наме-  
 рате. мѣрѣѣѣ гѣ отѣнт еѣсѡтѡн еѣ отпѣѣс  
 есѣнн. е ѡл же кас еѣнаѣѣѡт е рон гѣѣ  
 пероот еѣ пѣѣѣѣ пшине.









χειροσβεῖν αἰὲν ἡσέραφειν · [αἰὲν] νεοροπος αἰὲν  
 αἰ αἰντχοεῖς παρχν αἰὲν πεζοτсiα αἰὲν ἡσοε  
 тнpoт нaḗ пнтe · αἰὲν тестрафа тнрс ἡ тпe ·  
 Пкаρ де он астаеῖο ἡнеотрion αἰὲν ἡхатве  
 αἰὲν ἡтbно|оте · αἰὲν ἡрала[ате] αἰὲν пет кiеe тн-  
 poт гi хwц · Ацтwтe он ἡ отпарадеῖсoс гaḗ  
 пса н aḗ aа ἡ шa · Ацнат ἡси па eῖωт e пнос-  
 eоc тнрц eцo ἡ хaтe · eαἰв пет p гwб e poц

Пeхacц ἡси па eῖωт же aарἡ тaеῖο ἡ отpωee  
 кaтa пeнeнe αἰὲν тeнpἡкoн · тapецтw eцcтoт  
 e poн · aḗ пepoот αἰὲν тeтшн · aтw ἡceῖe  
 же тciх aḗ пxoεc · тe нт aтaеῖ e нaἡ тн-  
 poт же aнoн фшooп aḗ пaтe нaἡ шoпe · Ац-  
 oтeрcaгнe ἡ oтaтceлoс ἡси па eῖωт же бoн  
 гaḗ па oтwш αἰὲν па oтeрcaгнe · e пкаρ ἡ  
 eдee нт eнe нaἡ нoткaρ aḗ пapoeннoн ·  
 ἡтaтaеῖο ἡ отpωee кaтa нeн|eнe αἰὲν тeнpἡ-  
 кoн · тapецтw eцcтoт e poн · aḗ пepoот αἰὲν  
 тeтшн ·

Пaтceлoс де ацбoн e пкаρ ἡ eдee · кaтa  
 пoтeрcaгнe aḗ па eῖωт Ацaгe paтц eдaḗ пoee  
 ацcoоттἡ e бoл ἡ тeцciх e xἡтц шa па eῖωт ·  
 Ацwш e бoл ἡтeтнoт eцxw aḗeоc гἡ oтнoт  
 ἡ cнн ἡси пoee же фopн e poн aḗ пe нт  
 ацтἡпooтн шa poг Cшoпe шaнxἡт шa poц  
 нцплaссe aḗeог ἡтaшoпe ἡ отpωee · αἰὲн oт-  
 цтxн ecoнḡ ἡтe гeнпoт ἡ нoбe · шoпe e бoл  
 ἡ гнт · Oтἡ oтaнншe aḗ пopнiа гi кaтaлaлiа  
 гi кoρ гi aоcтe гi фтoн нaшoпe e бoл гi  
 тoотц · Oтἡ oтaнншe ἡ pεцгwтb гi pεцпe | гт  
 cнoц e бoл нaшoпe e бoл гi тoотц

Ceнaнoтxe aḗeоi ἡнeтpooр αἰὲн нeшaт αἰὲн ἡшн  
 αἰὲн ἡшoтe · αἰὲн aḗeотнeиoтe · гa oн aḗ па  
 oтoεиш · C пpaн де ἡ нaἡ тнpoт ceнaнoтxт

Fol. 9 b

KΔ

Fol. 10 a

KΕ

Fol. 10 b

KЄ



енколасіс ꙗсеколазе ꙗааої ꙗа пероот ꙗа  
теушн каат е वोळ нах еїпкотн еїаотн:—

Паттелос де ꙗа пхоєис ꙗ тере цсвтꙗ е наї ачр  
роте рнтꙗ ꙗа пран ꙗа па еїот. Ачкотꙗ ачеї  
ша па еїот.

Пехац же па жоєис ꙗт аїсвтꙗ е пекран. ет га  
роте ꙗа еіеш еїне ꙗааоу ша рок. ꙗтепнот  
ацотерсадне ꙗа пеез сназ ꙗаттелос ачхоотꙗ  
ша роу. ꙗа пеез шоаїт ша рраї е пеез  
сауꙗ ꙗаттелос ꙗа отеш | рон е роти е роу. е Fol. 11 a  
воळ же нецворн е роот ꙗреннос ꙗанау ꙗроте. вз

ꙗ тере па еїот де наѡ же ꙗа отеш ентꙗ ша  
роу. ачтїпноот. ꙗа аотринл паттелос ша роу.  
есѡ ꙗааос нац же वोх рꙗа па отерсадне е  
пкар ꙗ едеа нꙗ еіне наї ꙗ отоае ꙗа парѡени-  
кон ꙗтаплассе ꙗааоу ꙗа отрѡае. ката па  
еїне ꙗа та рїкѡн таресѡот е рон ꙗа пероот  
ꙗа теушн.

ꙗ тере цѡх де ша роу ꙗа паттелос ꙗа пхоєис  
ацар е ратꙗ рї ѡу рї относ ꙗа ѡае ꙗа от-  
тажрѡ ꙗа отерсадне ꙗте пхоєис. Ачсоотн  
е वोळ ꙗа теуѡїѡ е ѡа ꙗааоу:—

ꙗтепнот ачѡу е वोळ рї относ ꙗа сѡн ꙗа поае  
же ѡворн е рок ꙗа | пе итацсент тпе. ꙗа Fol. 11 b  
пкар ꙗа нет ꙗрнтот тнрот. Е шопе шакрѡн вн  
е роти е рої е ѡїт ша пнотте.

Шотринл де паттелос ꙗае црроте рнтꙗ ꙗа пран  
ꙗа па еїот есвтꙗ е роу отае ꙗае цшїрнꙗ  
ра роу. ала ачѡ нецотот е роу ачаааоте  
ꙗааоу рї отаїтатраннос ꙗа отаїтот-  
аїнт. ачеіне ꙗааоу ша па еїот ачраше е рраї  
е ѡу. ачѡ ꙗа поае ꙗа тоотꙗ ꙗа паттелос  
ачтааїѡ ꙗа ааае. ката пенене ꙗа тенрїкѡн.  
ачкаац есннѡ е वोळ ꙗа рꙗа ꙗа роот ꙗа рꙗа

Fol. 12 a  
 RE

[illegible]

Fol. 12b  
A

Fol. 13 a

А порѣиномъ зѡмъ ѿ пархнѣласма тѣмъ е  
 тре сѣмъ нѣмъ нѣмъ пѣмъ па еѣмъ нѣмъ же аѣмъ  
 зѡмъ нѣмъ нѣмъ ѿ пѣмъ пѣмъ тѣмъ нѣмъ . | Нѣмъ Fol. 13 b  
 же аѣмъ ѿ пѣмъ тѣмъ . аѣмъ е зѣмъ е нѣмъ ѿ  
 нѣмъ нѣмъ аѣмъ нѣмъ . Пѣмъ же нѣмъ е пѣмъ  
 нѣмъ нѣмъ нѣмъ нѣмъ . же аѣмъ нѣмъ  
 нѣмъ нѣмъ .

[illegible]

Таї те ѿ **ѧ** пей са и кроу:—Ере **п**аггелос сраї  
**п** тоотѹ. Анаггелос тирот сѡотѹ е роу. **ѧ**п  
 отеш чї **ѧ** пехартни **п** тоотѹ **ѧ**чотерсаре  
**п**си па єїѡт е тре ѡеине **п** отасрѹ єѹтнѧ **п**се  
 ѡѡт **ѧ**ѧѡу е пей са **ѧ**п паї:—Пет **п**рооти ра  
 терїѡѧѧ **п** тесѹсѧ **ѧ**п отешчїтѹ **п** тоотѹ.

ПѢТНОУ А ПА ЕЇОУ ОУЕРСАГНЕ П ОУНОУ П ХЕИ-  
 РОУБЕИ АУРАУТѢ. АУНОУ Е ПЕСНТ Е БОЛ РИ  
 ПЛЕ ЕХЕ ПКАУ | Е ТБЕ ТЕСЕИПТХАСІОНТ. АУ- Fol. 14 b  
 ОУОУѢ А ПЕСУТИО. АИ ПЕСУПІР. АУАУ П АА  
 ОУО. НЕ ПТАУЕНТОУ Е БОЛ ПЕАУ АУОУПЕ  
 ПАІАВОЛОУ ПЕАУ. ПА ЕЇОУ АЕ АУТРЕ ОХІ П  
 ААА. Е ППАРАДІСОУ ОУФАЛЛЕИ РА ТЕСУ РИ.  
 ПСИ ОУАИНИШЕ ПАУТЕЛОУ АУКАУ ААА АУОУ  
 ЕСЕМОУ Е ПНОУТЕ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τέρε ψυχήπε ῥαῖ ππαραδῖσος ἐαυταυ

ише проше гдѣ прѣсѣхъ же е боа и тше  
проше . ере аааа шооп гдѣ ппарааѣос пте  
трѣфн еѣсѣет ааааа ере ппарѣелос ннѣ ш  
роу ааааа . пѣхасъ пѣи па еѣот же напос  
ан е тре прѣе ѣо ааааа . аааа аарѣта  
аааа пау и отѣоѣос ката роу . аѣеѣне пѣ  
гѣннѣ ехѣ аааа . аѣѣѣѣ аѣеѣне и отѣи и пѣ  
ѣетѣпѣр . аѣаааѣ пѣарѣ аѣтаааа и отѣеѣе .  
ката пѣѣпос и ааааа .

Аѡае ꙗ тере снессе • е граї га прїинѣ аснат е  
 рос Пехач же таї тепот отнеес те е ѡл рѣ  
 навеес аѡѡ отсарꙋ те таї сенамотте е рос  
 же тесрїеи же ꙗтаѡхїтс е ѡл рѣ несроотт •  
 Спеган аѡае пе ꙗтаѡѣ ран ентїкоотте тирот  
 еѣ неѡтрион еѣ ꙗраѡате еѣ зѡон нїе ет  
 нїе граї рїхе ꙗкаѡ ѡа граї е пет рѣ еѡот-  
 неѡте • аѡае пе ꙗтаѡѣ ран е роот тирот  
 ната потер|сарне еѣ па еїѡт ꙗ аѡѡс •

[illegible][illegible]

Fol. 15 a

Fol. 15 b

Fol. 16 a

2000 **ⲙⲓⲧⲧⲏ** • **ⲡ** **ⲧⲉⲣⲉ** **ⲥⲏⲁⲧ** **ⲉ** **ⲣⲟⲥ** **ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲁⲥ**  
**ⲁⲥⲑⲱⲛ** **ⲉ** **ⲑⲟⲩⲏ** **ⲉ** **ⲡⲣⲟⲥ** **ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ** **ⲑⲣⲁⲓ** **ⲡ** **ⲑⲏⲧⲉ** • **ⲭⲉ**  
**ⲉⲓⲥ** **ⲑⲏⲏⲧⲉ** **ⲁⲓⲑⲉ** **ⲉ** **ⲧⲉⲧⲕⲁⲓⲣⲓⲁ** • **ⲫⲏⲁⲩⲁⲭⲉ** **ⲉ** **ⲑⲟⲩⲏ**  
**ⲉ** **ⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ** • **ⲧⲁⲛⲁⲧ** **ⲭⲉ** **ⲫⲏⲁⲧⲣⲉ** **ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲙⲉ** **ⲉ** **ⲑⲟⲗ**  
**ⲑⲁⲉ** **ⲡⲩⲩⲏ** **ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲧ** **ⲡⲟⲭⲟⲧ** **ⲉ** **ⲑⲟⲗ** **ⲑⲁⲉ** **ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ**  
**ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲥ** • **ⲭⲉ** **ⲁⲛⲟⲛ** **ⲑⲱⲱⲧ** **ⲡⲧⲁⲧⲡⲟⲭⲧ** **ⲉ** **ⲑⲟⲗ** **ⲡ**  
**ⲧⲉⲧⲗⲟⲓⲑⲉ** •

Пѣхачъ насъ • е воѡ рѣ рѡчъ ѿ фѡчъ • хе е тѣе отъ  
пѣтетѡтѡмъ ан | е воѡ рѣ пѣши етъ рѣ тѣннѣе Fol. 16b  
ѿ пѣпарадѣсѡс ѿе пѣ пѣши тѣротъ • хе ене- АН  
сѡотъ пѣтѣ нечкарпѡсъ • Пѣотъ <sup>(sic)</sup> хе пѣхачъ хе  
рѣ отѡмъ а пѣхѡеѣсъ хѡсъ нан тарѣотѡмъ е  
воѡ рѣ шнѣ нѣе етъ рѣ пѣпарадѣеѣсѡсъ еи ѿн тѣѣ  
пѣши пѣ сѡтѣ пѣетъ нанѡтѣ ѿ пѣпѣѡѡотъ рѣ  
пѣѡѡотъ ететѣѡтѡмъ е воѡ пѣ рѣтѣ рѣ отъ-  
ѡѡтѣ тѣѡѡотъ •

Прочъ же пещахъ насъ же ѿтѣнаеомъ аи • Алла  
тетнашопе ѿѳе ѿ неѣ нощте ѿтетѿеиѣе е ппет  
нанотхъ иѿ ппѣѳоотъ • ѿтетѿперхъ пет ролѳъ  
е болъ иѿ пет саше • Е тѣе паѣ ѿта пноште жоос  
интѣ ѿ теѣ ре • же | ѿнетѿотомъ ѿтетѿр ѳе ѿ Fol. 17 a  
нѣнотте • аѳомъ иѿ ѿлѳъ еѿшаже е роти е росъ лѳъ  
шант ѿплана иѿеосъ нѣотомъ • е болъ рѣи  
пшнн •

Аѡ ꙗ҃тѣноу асѡпе еси на рѣ асеи же  
 еси на рѣ • Асѣ ꙗ҃ рѣсѡѡѣ ꙗ҃ вѣте асѡѣ  
 ꙗ҃ ꙗ҃сѡ на рѣ • Стѣ же асѡѡ ѡа аааа •  
 аааа же ꙗ҃ тере ѡѡѣ е рѣ еси на рѣ •  
 асѡѡ ꙗ҃те • Аѡ асѡпе рѣ ѡѡѣ ꙗ҃  
 ꙗ҃ѣ ꙗ҃ рѣ ꙗ҃ рѣсѡѡѣ еси ѡѡѣ • Пѣѣ  
 ꙗ҃ же е тѣ ѡ асѡпе ꙗ҃ тѣ рѣ • еси рѣте  
 еси ѡѡѣ ꙗ҃ ꙗ҃ѣ е ѡѡ • Аѡ ꙗ҃ѣ ꙗ҃ѣ  
 е рѣ ꙗ҃ѣ е ѡѡ рѣ ꙗ҃ѣ

Нѣтъ же печас насъ же аѡѡтѣ нѣ ѡѡѡѡ рѣѡѡ ѡѡ



Ե ՋՈՒՆ ՆԵ՛ ԿՈՒՆԻ Ե ԶՐԱԴԻ Ե ՔԱԶՐ | ի՛նքե ՏՈՒՆ • ԿԵՆ- Fol. 19<sup>a</sup>  
 ՄԻ՛ՄԻՆ ԶՈՒՍ ՆԱՄՈՒՔԵ ԶԻ՛ ԼԵ՛ՒԻՄԵ ԵՆԶԵՆՈՍ ԶԵ՛ ԼԵ՛ՒԻ  
 ՔԱԿԵ ԵՒ ԶԻ՛ՄԵՒԵՆ ՆԵ՛ՄԻՄ • ՕՄԵՆ ի՛ՄՈ  
 ի՛ՐՈՒՄԵ •

За пеез фот отѣас ꙗшѡ ꙗроме . ꙗпатꙗпоот  
 ꙗ пашнре ꙗ еерит е ꙗкосеос . ꙗѣшѡпе рꙗ  
 отооте ꙗ парѡеники ꙗ ѡис ꙗ еѡт . Сте таї  
 те мариа тпарѡенос ет отѣаѡ . ꙗѣхпосѣ ехꙗ  
 ꙗкаѡ ꙗѡе ꙗ отѡнке ꙗроме . ꙗѣѡ есѡ ꙗ пар-  
 ѡенос ꙗ тесѡе тесѡе *(sic)* . Чнаѡ мѣаѡ ѡоме  
 отѣас ꙗроме рꙗ ꙗкосеос . Чнахї ꙗира  
 ꙗѡѡ ꙗме ꙗте тѣѡтрѡме | ѡат ꙗ ꙗноѡе ꙗ-  
 меате . Чнаѡре ꙗ отѡениѡе ꙗѡме рꙗ ѡпнре ꙗ-  
 еѡꙗ ꙗнпе е роот . Чнатѡѡнос ꙗ нет мѡотт  
 ꙗѣнѡѡѡе е ѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡамѡнѡн . Чнатаѡѡе нет  
 снѡ ꙗѣтре ꙗѡале мѡѡѡе ꙗѡл . чна тре сѡтꙗ  
 ꙗѡло чнатретѡѡѡе . Чнатѡѡ ꙗнет сѡѡѡ ꙗꙗ  
 ꙗѡѡ ет ѡѡѡѡѡ . Чнаѡѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡ ꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ  
 рꙗ ꙗѡѡѡ ꙗ тѡѡѡѡ .

[illegible]





еїне· а҃спараѡа ꙗ̑ тентолн· ꙗ̑т аїтаас е  
тоотѣ· а҃сѡтѡе е ѡол г҃е пшнн· а҃сене ꙗ̑  
относ ꙗ̑ осе ехї теептрѡе тирс· Е тѣе паї  
ѡнаак ꙗ̑ррѡ е г҃раї е хѡс· же ꙗ̑тон пе нтак-  
ене тееѡс ѡа рої г҃е пероот паї ете соѡ  
еѡтшѡе пе ꙗ̑ аѡѡр·

Ере некран нащѡпе ꙗ̑ г҃оте г҃ї ттапрѡ ꙗ̑ отон Fol. 22 a  
нїе· етеѡтте е рок же аѡѡтѡн паѡтѡлос ѡѡ  
тееѡт· ере пекеене еѡ текгїѡн нащѡпе г҃ї  
откроѡреѡ еѡ отѡнїт еѡ отапеїлн е г҃отн е  
ѡтхн нїе ѡант отѡт ѡе перпнѡ·

Ере некѡал еѡ пергѡ нащѡпе ꙗ̑е ꙗ̑ нїтрѡхос  
нѡгѡт етѡи г҃еїе г҃еїе гїѡн тееѡї:—

Ере пероот пшантї нащѡпе ꙗ̑е ѡе пероот  
ꙗ̑ тлѡенн ꙗ̑ сате ет жерѡ г҃ї отнѡгѡт еѡ  
отѡнн·

Ере пероот еѡг҃еѡе· ꙗ̑некспотѡт нащѡпе  
ꙗ̑е ѡе пероот ꙗ̑ тѡшѡе ꙗ̑ротѡѡї еѡна-  
ѡаже г҃раї г҃ї петаспе:—

Ере теѡпе нащѡпе ꙗ̑е ꙗ̑неї нос ꙗ̑стѡллос ꙗ̑ Fol. 22 b  
нѡгѡт хїн тпе е пернт:— ꙗ̑

Ере неѡѡге нащѡпе ѡе пѡол ꙗ̑ тектапрѡ ꙗ̑а-  
отѡс ѡаге ꙗ̑ шнн·

Ере ꙗ̑тнѡе ꙗ̑ неѡсїх еѡ на неѡтрннте на-  
щѡпе ꙗ̑е ꙗ̑ неї осг҃ѣ етнне·

Ере сшѡе ꙗ̑пе нащѡпе гї тпе ꙗ̑ теѡпе етшѡе  
г҃ї петгїѡн еѡ петѡорѡн·

Ере петѡѡге ѡе пѡол ꙗ̑ тоѡтапрѡ ꙗ̑отшѡн сѡат  
ꙗ̑шїн етѡшїт е перѡѡт ꙗ̑сѡ ѡе пѡосѡос·  
екешѡпе еѡшѡе г҃ї тнннте екѡѡос е г҃раї  
ехї отѡронос ꙗ̑ нѡгѡт:—

Ере некѡал нащѡпе етѡѡреї ꙗ̑ пет са пернт  
ѡе пѡаг ѡа г҃раї е пет г҃ї тееѡт неїѡѡе· ꙗ̑не  
лаат г҃ѡп е рок г҃а рос ꙗ̑ тпе хїн хѡс



нашѣнр аггелос тиротъ . Алѣо па жоеис маре  
пекниѣ тароотъ:—

[illegible]

Тѣмъ пакъ ꙗкоже тезовсѣа е рогъ е роотъ нѣ хѣтотъ  
 ентопосъ ꙗкоже танапатсѣсъ • пѣа ꙗкоже ѡпѣ ꙗкоже не  
 етфране тиротъ | же анѣ отнотѣ ꙗкоже асѣѡсъ ꙗкоже Fol. 25 a  
 ѡпѣтнѣ е рогъ е папласѣа. ꙗкоже

[illegible]



НѲТОК ДѲ ѡ ПА МЕРІТ ІОУАНИНС НѲ НАМѲ АН  
 ШАНТ ОУСОУТЕ П НЕОРОНОС РѲ ПЕРООТ П ТАНА-  
 СТАСІС ЕТ ОУААБ • ЕПЕИ ДН СЕНАЕИ Е ПЕСНТ Е БОЛ  
 РѲ ТПЕ ПѲІ РЕНОРОНОС ПЕРООТ ПТЕТІРМООС Е  
 РРАІ Е ЖѲОТ ЕІРМООС РѲ ТЕТІП МЕНТЕ •: НЕТ  
 ОУААБ ТИРОТ ПАНАТ Е ПТАІО Е ФНАТААУ НАН  
 ѡ ПА МЕРІТ ІОУАНИНС • ФНАОУЕРСАДНЕ П АББА-  
 ТѲН ПАТТЕЛОС ПѲЕИ ША РОК М ПЕРООТ ЕТ  
 МММѲ Е МП ЛААТ М | МОУРФН П РОТЕ ШООН Fol. 27 b  
 ММОУ АЛЛА ЕУНАЕИ ША РОК ЕУО П РАЕ РАШ РѲ Σ  
 ПѲРѲ ПѲЕ М МІХАНЛ ПѲЖІ П ТЕКѲУХН ПѲЕИ-  
 НЕ ММОС ША РОІ •

ПНЕ ПЕКѲММѲ ШѲПЕ РѲ ТАФѲОС ША ЕМЕР ОУДѲ  
 ПНЕ КАУ ШѲПЕ РІ ЖѲУ ША ЕМЕР •:—НЕТ ОУААБ  
 ТИРОТ НАРШПНРЕ ММОК Е БОЛ ЖЕ ПСЕПАШФ  
 РАП АН ШАНТЕ КФ РАП МММѲТ КНАР ШѲМТЕ  
 ОУСАС П ОУНОТ ЕКМООТТ ЕКПКОТІ РІЖМ ПЕК-  
 ОРОНОС ЕУѲЕУРЕІ ММОК ТИРОТ ПѲІ ПСѲНТ  
 ТИРѲ • ФНАКТЕ ТѲѲУХН Е РОТН Е ПЕКѲММѲ ПНЕ  
 СОП ПѲ ТѲѲТН ЕКѲѲѲЛЕ П ОУСТОЛН П ЕООТ ПѲЕ  
 П ОУА ПТАУТѲѲТН РѲ ОУММ П ШЕЛѲЕТ • ПТЕТІП Fol. 28 a  
 ФРАП ЕПКОСМОС ТИРѲ КАТА ѲЕ НТ АІСМПТѲ ММ- Σ  
 МЕНТІП • ЖЕ ТЕТНАРМООС РІ НЕОРОНОС ПТЕТІП-  
 КРИНЕ П ТМПТЕНѲѲС М ФѲЛН М ПНЛ •

АѲѲ АІЖѲОС РѲ ПТАПРО М ПАУЛОС • ЖЕ ПІНА-  
 КРІНЕ П РЕНАТТЕЛОС М ПАТІПѲУ РѲ ЕНА  
 ПКОСМОС • ПЕРООТ ТАУ ЕТ МММѲТ ТЕ КТИСІС  
 ТИРѲ ПААДЕ РАТѲ РѲ ОУРОТЕ МП ОУСТѲТ • ФНА-  
 ЖѲОС ПСЕПОРЖѲТ Е БОЛ П ПЕУЕРНѲ ПѲЕ П ОУ-  
 ШѲС ЕШАУПЕРЖ НЕСѲѲТ Е БОЛ П ПѲААММЕ •  
 ПДІКАІѲС МЕН РІ ОУНАМ • ПРѲУР ПОУЕ РѲОТ РІ  
 РѲѲУР МП ОУА ПАШФ П ТЕУСМН • ШАНТЕ ПНОС |  
 РѲ ПЕУРООТ НЕУЕТЕ НАУ ФНАѲѲШТ ЕЖМ ПА Fol. 28 b  
 ПЛАСММѲ ТИРѲ ПТАНАТ ЖЕ ЕУНАѲѲН Е ПТАКѲ • Σ

†наѡш е граї е па еїѡт· же па еїѡт от пе рнѡ  
 ѡ па сноу еѡнаѡн е птако·—

†тепнот шаре тесеи ѡ па еїѡт шѡпе ша рої  
 е ѡл рї теез сащје ѡ пе ееп лаат сѡтѡ е  
 рос еї еи теї апок еаѡат· Е ѡл же апок  
 ееп па еїѡт апон ота· же Тезотсиа тѡ нан  
 па шире е еїре ѡ петр̄ апан рѡ пекпласеа·—  
 Аѡ †нахоос рѡ рѡ пероот ет ѡеаѡ· еїраше  
 же акпер та ѡотне анеорт̄ ѡ ототнот же ере  
 та отнае пасеот е рок ѡта тѡ екаѡ· |

Fol. 29 a

30

†нахоос нитї рѡ пероот ет ѡеаѡ· ѡ наапо-  
 столос ет отаѡ· аѡ напет отаѡ тирот·—  
 Еїте апелос еїте архапелос·—Еїте про-  
 фитис· еїте дїкаїос·—протѡ же та еаѡ ѡ  
 парѡенос ееп па нос ѡархапелос еїханл  
 ееп габринл· еїѡ ѡеос наѡ же лаат ѡрѡе  
 нїе еаѡр̄ петїеете рїѡ пкаѡ е аѡ† ѡотоеик  
 рѡ петїран еепр̄ кааѡ е ѡн е птако·

Аѡ †тепнот нет отаѡ тирот на† ѡ перотї  
 е ротн е роот потѡ потѡ наѡпе ѡ нете потѡ  
 не отон нїе· е аѡр̄ петїе | рїѡ пкаѡ ѡсе-  
 нтоот тирот ратї ѡкооте ет рї отнае· Тотѡ  
 шаре ѡкооте ѡш е ѡл рї относ ѡ сеи ѡ  
 рїе· еѡеок̄ ѡ рнт еѡ ѡеос же пѡ  
 пнант· пшнре ѡ пнант на нан рѡн· †теп-  
 нот ет ѡеаѡ шаре пшнре ѡ пнотте рїе  
 е граї е ѡот нѡхоос наѡ· же ѡ та шаже  
 ееп па еїѡт·

Fol. 29 b

31

†тепнот шаре па еїѡт штае ѡ прѡ ѡ тпе· нѡ-  
 анаѡреї· †нахоос наѡ †тепнот же епе па  
 еїѡт отеш на нитї· Аѡ сенаѡш | е ѡл  
 протѡ же на нан· же епе пѡѡѡлос каан  
 е еетаної ене птапїе· же наѡ шооп· ан-  
 еетаної ша граї е перѡ сноу е ѡл· аѡ

Fol. 30 a

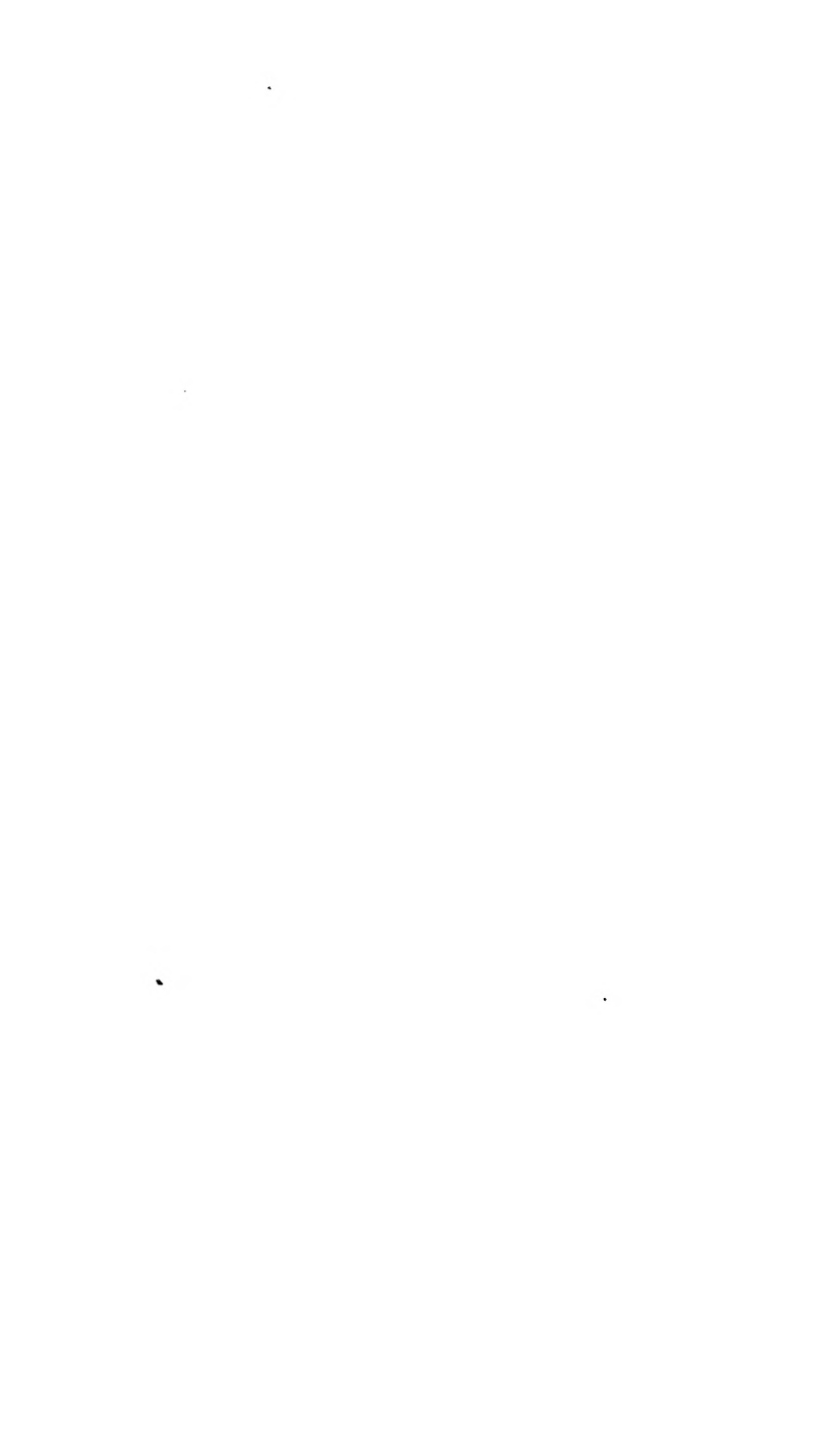
32











**TRANSLATION OF THE  
COPTIC TEXTS**



# THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT VICTOR THE GENERAL

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7022)

[HERE BEGINNETH] THE MARTYRDOM OF Fol. 1 a  
SAINT BIKTÔR (VICTOR), THE GENERAL 3  
AND MARTYR, THE MAN GLORIOUS IN  
CHRIST, THE WEARER OF THE CROWN IN  
VERY TRUTH, WHO COMPLETED HIS GLO-  
RIOUS STRIFE ON THE SEVEN AND TWEN-  
TIETH DAY OF THE MONTH PHARMOUTE.<sup>1</sup>  
IN THE PEACE OF GOD. MAY HIS HOLY  
BLESSING COME UPON US, AND MAY WE  
ALL BE SAVED TOGETHER. AMEN.

AND it came to pass in the kingdom (i. e. reign) of the Emperor Diocletian,<sup>2</sup> in the third year of his reign, in the first month, that the Devil led his heart astray from God, and made him to do the things that were not seemly. And Diocletian worshipped idols, and thrust the God of heaven behind his back, for the sake of [creatures made of] wood and stones, and for the sake of the vain things that were fashioned by the hands of men. Hearken [ye] now to [the account of] the valour of the young man [called] Victor.

And the Emperor Diocletian took counsel and decided to do the things that were unseemly before God, Jesus the Christ; and this is what he did. He made seventy<sup>3</sup> images of gold, and gave unto them the name of 'gods', which they certainly were not. To thirty-five of these he gave names of gods, and

<sup>1</sup> March 27–April 26.

<sup>2</sup> He began to reign in 284.




<sup>3</sup> Read *cyyce*.

to thirty-five the names of goddesses; now the number of his other gods and goddesses amounted to one hundred and forty.

And the Emperor Diocletian affixed a decree on the outside of the door of the Palace, wherein it was written thus: 'I, the Emperor Diocletian, [hereby] command that from Rômania [in the north] to Pelak<sup>1</sup> (Philac) in the south, every man, whether he be eparch, or general, or count, or bishop, or elder, or deacon, or reader, or servant, or free man, or soldier, or countryman, shall worship my gods. And any one among these who shall say, "I am a Christian," shall be remembered, and he shall die by the sword. And as for you, O all ye noblemen of high senatorial rank, who hold office in con-

Fol. 1 b **h** nection with the Palace,<sup>2</sup> ye shall give effect to | this decree in such a way that every man shall worship my gods; for these are the gods who give us victory in battle, and it is they who are the protectors of you yourselves, and they give strength unto you and unto the whole army. Therefore, he that doth not rise up early in the morning, and come at dawn [to me so] that we may go into the temple together and offer up sacrifices to the gods, he, I say, that doth not come [hither] shall be cast into the sea, so that [all men] may know that I am king, and that there is no other king besides me.'

And it came to pass at dawn, on the first day of the month Parmoute, that the Emperor Diocletian, and all his army, and the eparchs, and the generals went into the temple. And the Emperor took his seat upon the throne, and he caused the herald to make a proclamation, saying, 'O [all] ye Roman people, come ye and offer up sacrifice.' And the Emperor made an altar of silver and a vessel wherein to burn incense of gold; and he made a great pedestal of gold, and he placed it before the altar so that the [statue of] Apollo might be set upon it. And the Emperor commanded them to bring frankincense, and the finest flour of wheat, and the purest oil, and

<sup>1</sup>   

<sup>2</sup> i. e. those who are officers at court.

rare old wine, and to pour them out upon the altar whereon was blazing fire. And afterwards they lighted two hundred candles on golden candlesticks, and four hundred candles on silver candlesticks, and two hundred white horses drew his gods into the temple.

And when they had brought his gods into the temple the Emperor Diocletian stood up on his throne, and he lifted his crown off his head, and set it upon the head of [the statue of] Apollo, and he bowed down and worshipped it three times, saying, 'Thou art the god who livest, O Apollo, the greatest of the gods, who dost give unto us victory in war.' And after the Emperor had worshipped Apollo, his three fellow [Caesars], Romanus, Basileides, and Euaio<sup>1</sup>, came and worshipped Apollo also. Now these | held equal rank and power with the Emperor, and he loved them exceedingly. And he had given Fol. 2 a  
 unto each one of them fifty centenarii<sup>2</sup> of gold, in addition to the most noble rank of generals in the army and the other honours which he had bestowed upon them. And Diocletian said unto them, 'O my fellow [Caesars], I pray you to be persuaded by me, and to worship my gods. Ye yourselves can see this great festival which hath spread abroad everywhere this day. I swear by the salvation of my strength, and by the salvation of the seventy gods, and by the strength of the great god Apollo, that I will make the whole world worship my gods, and the festival which is being celebrated this day shall be proclaimed throughout the whole world. And ye yourselves shall give propitiatory offerings and gifts to the temple of Apollo, besides those which the eparch and the generals shall give.' And Romanus gave thirty centenarii of gold, and Basileides gave twenty, and Euaio<sup>1</sup> gave ten, and the Emperor gave sixty; in all they gave as free-will offerings to [the temple of] Apollo one hundred and twenty centenarii of

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is probably to Maximianus, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius.

<sup>2</sup> A coin of great but uncertain value.

gold. And the Emperor also gave three precious jewels [to be set] in the crown of Apollo, and they were of exceedingly great price.

And the Emperor said unto Romanus, the general of the army, 'Offer thou up sacrifice to my gods'; and Romanus went forward and offered up sacrifice together with his two fellow [Caesars], as did also the other nobles who were attached to the Palace. On that day six hundred thousand soldiers and two millions of the people of the country worshipped [Apollo], and all the multitudes of the people were gathered together at the sacrifice of the Emperor.

And it came to pass that when the turn of the Protector had come to offer up sacrifice, now his name was Basileides, he would not worship the gods of the Emperor; and Diocletian put him to death together with all his house. And the whole city was greatly shaken by the thronging of the multitude, and men died, being choked by the fumes of the frankincense, and by the smell of the incense which the people were offering

Fol. 2 b up upon the altar. | And those who died through being  
 2 crushed by the multitudes were five thousand in number, in addition to those who died in the temple, who were also five thousand in number.

And the Emperor Diocletian went about throughout the whole city, saying, 'When ye shall have finished offering up your sacrifices, [ye shall] eat and ye shall drink at the door of [the temple of] Apollo and Artemis, and ye shall glorify them, for it is they who have made the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and mankind.' And the Emperor went back to the Palace at the time of the morning meal, and he called Romanus the general and said unto him, 'Take this edict, and make the rest of the multitude offer up sacrifice before thou dost leave them.' Then Romanus the general took the edict from the hand of the Emperor, and he gave orders to the people, saying, 'O Romans, offer ye up sacrifice.'

And it came to pass that when all the people had offered up



sacrifice, it came to the turn of his son to offer up sacrifice. Now he was a young man of nineteen years of age, and he worshipped God, and held His commandments in fear. He was a virgin in body, he ate once only each week, he prayed all night long, and from the day wherein he had heard the Christians crying out to him in the church his heart had departed into heaven. He hated the world. He did not drink wine, neither did he eat food cooked with fire. He did not decorate his person, and he did not adorn himself with rich apparel and fine raiment. He did not mount the horse which was used in a chariot (i. e. a war-horse). He neither ate food with his father nor did he enter into converse with him in the presence of any one who was greater than himself. He never gave utterance to an obscene (or, scurrilous) word, and never, under any circumstances, did he swear an oath by anything or by anybody. And whenever he heard | concerning Fol. 34 any one who was in distress, if that person were a Christian, ē he used to minister unto him, and give unto him of whatsoever he had need, without informing his father and mother of the same. And this was in addition to the things that he used to give to his slaves daily. He was wont to rise each morning at break of day, and to come forth to the door of his house, and if he saw any one naked he would strip himself of the garment which he had on him, and give it to him. And he performed all the commandments which were written, and he fulfilled all the instructions in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus the Christ.

And his father wearied him exceedingly, saying, 'I shall take the daughter of Basileides the general for thee to wife,' for his father and Basileides had made an agreement in respect of her for two hundred centenarii of gold, besides gifts, and four hundred centenarii of silver, and ten menservants, and ten hundred maidservants wearing golden bracelets, and four hundred horses, and ten hundred mules, and ten hundred camels, and ten hundred farms which were under tillage, and

ten hundred ships which sailed the sea, and ten houses (palaces?) to [each] one of which were attached ten farms under tillage, besides the things which his father was to give to him, and a very large number of men who were to do the work on [his] land.

And the blessed Apa Victor would not be persuaded by his father and Basileides, and he said unto them, ‘All these things shall perish’; and he kept himself for the kingdom that is in the heavens. And the Lord Jesus was wont to appear to him, face to face, and He loved him because of his purity. And the noble Victor made for himself a small chamber in his house, | and there he would retire to be free from the company of his parents. He had not slept upon a couch since he was fifteen years of age. He prayed by day and by night, and he fasted from one sabbath to another. He attended the assemblies for the Holy Communion. He prayed one thousand and sixty-five prayers during the day, and seven hundred and thirty prayers during the night. His food consisted of bread and salt only.

And the Devil goaded him with carnal desire, for he wished to make him fall into fornication; but this noble Apa Victor vanquished him by means of prayers, and fasting, and by his Christian citizenship. And his fellow noblemen were always making a mock of him, saying, ‘Why dost thou not eat? Why dost thou not drink? Why dost thou not wear fine apparel and put on beautiful raiment? Thou wilt die, and then others will consume thy possessions.’ But he was wont to make answer [unto them], saying, ‘Apparel becometh moth-eaten, gold and silver crumble away, [and] the beauty of the body becometh destroyed in the tomb.’

And Apa Victor was wont to go into his chamber, and to pray unto God in the following manner: ‘O Lord, hearken unto me! [O] Lord Jesus the Christ, Thou knowest the speech of heresy, and [Thou knowest] whether I love Thee or not. O my Lord Jesus the Christ, permit Thou not the love

of women to rise up in my heart, lest Satan find a place of abode in my heart, and lest mine enemies rejoice over me, and lest Thou Thyself become wroth with me, and say unto me in the day of the Judgement of Truth [when] I come into Thy hands, "Depart thou from Me." But let Thy lovingkindness bear patiently with me, and do Thou not remove Thyself from me. Glory be unto Thee, O Father, Who art in | the Fol. 44  
 Son, and unto Thee, O Son, Who art in the Father, and unto 3  
 [Thee, O] Holy Spirit, for ever, and ever, and ever! Amen.'

Then Romanus the general said unto Apa Victor, his son, 'O my son Vieter, it is now thy turn to worship the gods of the Emperor, in whose honour the whole city is keeping this day a feast, especially Apollo, the greatest of the gods.' And Apa Vieter looked into the face of his father, saying, 'O my father, hath this foolishness obtained such a hold upon thee this day as to make thee forsake the God of heaven for the sake of the glory that is vanity? Remember, therefore, that which our Lord Jesus saith in the Gospel, "Whosoever denieth Me before men, him will I Myself deny before My Father, Who is in the heavens, and before His holy angels."<sup>1</sup> Do not therefore deny Him, O my father, that He may not deny thee. For God gave a commandment unto Moses, saying, "Speak thou unto the children of Israel, saying, Be ye not like unto the nations who worship creatures instead of Him that created [them]. And lift ye not up your eyes to the heavens, to worship the sun, and the moon, and the stars, when ye see them, and the feathered fowl of the heavens, and the four-footed creatures of the earth, for in that day I will destroy you, saith the Lord."<sup>2</sup> Now therefore, O my father, be not thou like unto them, lest God destroy thee. By the truth of God, O my father, I grieve on thy account. For it would be better for thee that thou hadst never been born than that, having been born, thou shouldst live and make thyself a man without God.'

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Deut. iv. 17, 19 ff.

And whilst Apa Victor was saying these words all the soldiers of the army were looking on him and on his father.

Fol. 4 b Then Romanus said, | ‘O my son Victor, hearken unto me,  
 H and do thou offer up sacrifice, and let us bring to an end our trouble in this place. Now I have never given thee an occasion to grieve from thy childhood up. Remember, O my son Victor, that I am seeking after thy bride, and I am going to take her for thee to wife in the very next month which is coming.’ Apa Victor said unto his father, ‘I have not asked thee for a bride or for a gift, but I am grieving exceedingly for thee, for thou hast denied the Saviour. In very truth, O my father, thou art a miserable man, for the works which thou art doing God hateth. Now woe and confusion shall come upon thee, because David said, He who is in a battle, and he who carrieth away stuff (or, spoil), the same share [appertaineth] to both alike.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, O my father, the man who committeth sin, and the man who is of the same opinion as the man who committeth it, the same disgrace [appertaineth] to both alike. I beg thee therefore, by every means, do not this thing, O my father. Get thee away from this sin which leadeth unto death. Look thou into the Gospel of the Lord, and see that whilst the Jews were crying out “Crucify Jesus”, Pilate the Governor took water, and washed his hands,<sup>2</sup> and made himself free from the liability [for His death] among the high priests and the Jews, and he delivered his soul from death.’

And his father was filled with indignation, and he swore an oath, saying, ‘By Apollo, the greatest of the gods, I will deliver thee over to the Emperor [so that] he may destroy thee. Dost thou not know that I am well acquainted with the matter wherewith thou art occupied? Thou hast learned to work magic in this Name of Jesus. Think not, however, O Victor, that

Fol. 5 a He will be able to help | thee, for very many men of thy kind  
 Θ have died for His sake, and they have been stripped of their

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xxx. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxvii. 24.

worldly goods and of their estates and possessions. Peradventure thou art grief-stricken because I have not taken for thee to wife thy bride.'

And Apa Victor answered and said, 'My father, the fruit of the Devil hath taken deep root in thee.' Romanus said unto Apa Victor, 'Knowest thou not, O miserable one, that when a man is disobedient unto his father they put him to death?' Apa Victor said unto his father, 'Yesterday thou didst worship God and I was thy son; but to-day I am not thy son, because thou hast made thyself disobedient unto God, and thou dost worship idols. Truly did Paul the scribe say, "In the case of a man who is a heretic, if after thou hast admonished him once or twice, and he doth not hearken unto thee, let him alone, for thou knowest that his portion is not with God."<sup>1</sup> For this reason thou art not my father.' Romanus said unto him, 'Hearken unto me, O my son Victor. Do not throw away and waste thine early manhood. And do not disgrace thyself in the midst of the imperial palace, and before the whole of the Emperor's army. I myself shall be put to shame because of thee, and shall be disgraced before the Emperor and his servants, for thou art setting at naught the law of the Emperors, and thou art shewing thyself to be an ill-educated young man among thy companions. And they will take away from thee thy rations, and the Emperor will be angered because of thee. But, if thou wilt hearken unto me, I will make an appeal to the Emperor on thy behalf, and he will make thee a general, and thou shalt be a man of dignity and honour in the palace of the Emperor. Be thou not disobedient to me, O my son. | Dost thou not know that Fol. 54 I and thy mother have no other son except thee? I swear by v the health of Apollo that if thy mother were to hear that thy body hath troubled thee during the last few days, she would be able neither to eat, nor to drink, and she would grieve sorely [about] thee. O my son Victor, I swear by mine own

<sup>1</sup> Titus iii. 10.

health, that on the day whereon thou wast born to me I made an offering of twenty centenarii of gold to the temple of Apollo. I was bound, deaf, . . . . .<sup>1</sup> On the third day after thou wast born to me, I betrothed the daughter of Basileides to thee to wife. And therefore I swear by thine own health, O my son Victor, that if thou wilt worship the glorious gods of the Emperor, I will make a gift unto thee of another thirty centenarii of gold, in addition to the other things which I have determined to give unto thee.'

Then Basileides and Euaios went to Apa Victor, and they said unto him, 'Verily we come to entreat thee this day as a free man. Wilt thou then make thyself to be as it were a slave before us? Why hath thine heart turned its gaze aside in this manner? And why hast thou not hearkened to thy father who hath made supplication to thee? Do not put our hearts to shame, who bow humbly before thee.' And Apa Victor became wroth, and he cried out, saying, 'O God, look Thou with Thine eyes, and with Thine ears hear. As I wish to live, even so do I wish that every one else may have life with me also. I have no feeling of envy (or, jealousy) in me. Behold Thou then, O God, the things which they are doing unto me, and see how they even dare to say unto me,

Ed. 6 a "Take thou thirty centenarii of gold, and deny Jesus in the  
 18 midst of this multitude." Do they not think that I myself am Judas who betrayed (or, gave away) his Lord for thirty [pieces] of silver, for which reason he inherited the outer darkness for ever? I swear by the prayers of the saints, for I am not worthy to take an oath by the name of God, that if thou wouldst give unto me the whole world, and the kingdom of Diocletian, and his possessions, and his gods of gold and of silver, which he hath made, I would not offer up sacrifice. For it is written, "If thou shalt gain the whole world, and lose thy soul, what is the profit [to thee?]"<sup>2</sup> Dost thou not

<sup>1</sup> Some words seem to have dropped out of the text.

<sup>2</sup> Mark viii. 36.

know that for the last twelve years I have fasted the whole week through, from Sabbath to Sabbath, and that I have never once washed in a bath?’

And when Romanus had heard these things from his son Victor, he said, ‘I swear by Apollo that I will deliver thee into the hands of the Emperor, and he shall destroy thee. Thou dost not know what I know well, that thou art treating the law with contempt; for it is written, “When a son is disobedient to his father they shall slay him.”’<sup>1</sup> And Apa Victor said unto his father, ‘Behold, that which is written is fulfilled this day, “A father shall deliver his son over to death.”’<sup>2</sup> If thou shalt deliver me over [to death], O my father, there existeth One Who will help me. Shall not I reward thee with the reward of my Lord? For when the Jews were standing before Him, and crying out “Crucify Him”, and were buffeting Him, He did not reward them with evil in place of evil, but He shewed compassion upon them. And moreover He is shewing mercy and longsuffering towards all this multitude this day, and upon this lawless king | who is carrying out these evil designs in the midst of Fol. 6 b this city.’

16

And the Devil filled the heart of the father of Apa Victor, and he made him to deliver Apa Victor over into the hands of Diocletian the Emperor. And when the Emperor had looked into the face of Apa Victor, he said unto him, ‘O thou Victor, why hast thou not hearkened to thy father, and worshipped my gods? Is it possible that thou dost not know that I have absolute power over thee?’ And Apa Victor tore off his golden chain, and removed the insignia of his rank which he had on him, and he threw them in the face of Diocletian, saying, ‘Indeed I am in no way a soldier, and I will not wear the badge of an emperor who is mortal, for I wear the badge of the Emperor who is in the heavens. For it is written in the book of the Christians, “It is not possible for you to perform

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxi. 18-21.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. x. 21.

the service of two masters; [ye must] either [serve] God or mammon.”<sup>1</sup> And again, “It is not possible for you to eat at the table of the Lord, and at the table of the demons.”<sup>2</sup> Now, therefore, I will serve the God of heaven, and I will not serve mammon, that is to say, thee, O Emperor.’

And the Emperor said unto Apa Victor, ‘How dost thou dare to insult me in this fashion? Dost thou think that there are no instruments of punishment and torture in the prison-house wherewith I can have thee punished? Have I not already commanded (or, announced to) thee, saying, “Never let me hear this name of Jesus [issue] from thy mouth?” If it were not that I should inflict shame on thy father, I would not permit thee to utter one word in my presenee. Is it possible that thou hast never heard that an Emperor like unto myself gave orders to a governor, who put to death thy God Jesus, in whom thou putttest thy confidencee?’

Fol. 7 a This king was Herod, who gave orders to Pilate, and Pilate  
 10 put Him to death. Now, if it was a mere governor who slew Jesus thy God, how much more is it possible for me, an Emperor, to destroy this name of Jesus from under heaven, and every one who worshippeth Him? Now, therefore, O Victor, come, hearken to thy father, and do thou offer up sacrifice to the gods. If, however, thou wilt not do so, I will banish thee, and they shall put thee to death.’

And Romanus turned towards his son Apa Victor and said unto him, ‘Art thou still not persuaded to pay worship unto the gods of the Emperor?’ And Apa Victor said unto his father, ‘If Diocletian be thy god, [good and well]; but he is no god of mine, for my Lord is Jesus the Christ.’ And his father was exceedingly wroth, and he commanded them to bind his son’s arms behind him, and to carry him outside the city, and to spear him there [until] he died. And they tied the arms of this noble Apa Victor behind him, and they fastened a gag in his mouth, so that they might carry him

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. x. 21.



outside [the city] to destroy him; and when he was coming out soldiers accompanied him.

And the Devil took the form of a soldier, and he made himself visible to Victor, and he said unto him, 'O Victor, where wilt thou fulfil<sup>1</sup> this evil course of action? By these acts of thine thou art abandoning thy father to grief. Thou thinkest that thy father hateth thee. This is certainly not so, for thy father loveth thee exceedingly. Now, therefore, hearken thou unto me, and let me tell thy father that thou hast repented, and he will cease to be angry with thee. Do not, then, do not, I say, be disobedient unto him. Consider Isaac, the son of Abraham, | who shewed no disobedience to his father when Fol. 7 b he saw the knife of slaughter which was to kill him coming 12 down upon him.<sup>2</sup> Now, therefore, do not make thy father to grieve, otherwise thou wilt fall under the curse of Ham, who was under the curse of his father, because he looked upon his father's nakedness.<sup>3</sup> Now, therefore, do not shew disobedience to thy father, and then I will petition the Emperor, and he will make thee a general.' And Apa Victor said unto the Devil, 'I have not set my mind upon the possession of the rank of general in this world, but upon the kingdom of my Lord Jesus the Christ.'

And when these words had been said [by him] they went in and told the Emperor that Romanus had passed sentence of death upon his son, Apa Victor, and that his head was to be cut off, [because] he had sinned against the Emperor and his gods. And Diocletian sent two [of his] bodyguards so that they might seize him, and bring him to him. And the Emperor said unto his father, 'I know this day that thou carest neither for [thy] wife nor [thy] son as much as thou carest for me and my gods, and that thou hast gone so far as to deliver over to death thine only son for my sake. But hearken unto me and unto the things which I will declare

<sup>1</sup> i. e. to what point wilt thou go?

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. ix. 22.

unto thee, O Romanus. Hearken unto me. Peradventure this impostor<sup>1</sup> hath led his heart astray. I will banish him to Rakote,<sup>2</sup> and let him lie there in prison until he dieth.'

And Apa Victor was exceedingly wroth, and he said unto the Emperor, 'O thou stupid and senseless Emperor, this matter which thou seekest to effect is good, [for] thou wilt make thyself a stranger unto us, and we shall become  
 Fol. 8 a  
 10c strangers unto thee. | And the greater part of thine army shall hate thee, and God shall be angry with thee, and He shall send His wrath upon thee, and shall destroy thy kingdom.' And the Emperor was wroth, and he commanded immediately that [his servants] should reduce his supply of food, but he did not cut off his rations altogether, and the Emperor allowed him sufficient food to keep him alive lest he should die of hunger. And he caused him to be deprived of his rank of count. And he made them to fasten Apa Victor's hands behind him, and he tied him to the tail of a horse, and shaved the crown of his head, and he suspended a bell from his neck, and four soldiers filled their hands with palm branches and beat him therewith, and they dragged him naked round about through all the city, and a herald went before him crying out, 'These things are done unto this man because he will not offer up sacrifice to the gods of the Emperor'; and they went through every part of the city with him.

And on the new moon of Parmoute, the first day of the month of the beginning of the year, according to the computation of the Romans,<sup>3</sup> Diocletian took a sheet of parchment, and wrote on it these words: 'I, Diocletian, who am the Lord of all the World, write unto Armenius, the Count of Rakote, that so soon as this man Victor, who

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Christ, or Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> An ancient and important garrison town, which was, after the founding of Alexandria, absorbed into that city.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. the Byzantine Greeks.

is banished, is brought unto thee, thou shalt examine him carefully three times, and shalt afterwards drive him to the baths, and burn him.' |

And straightway they delivered him over into the hands of Fol. 8 b  
 four soldiers in order that they might take him to Rakote. 16  
 There was [an iron] collar round his neck, there was a gag in his mouth, there was fettering iron about his feet, and he was naked, and there were iron casings about his legs, and the soldiers drove him along with blows. And Apa Victor said unto the soldiers who were in charge of him, 'My brethren, I pray you to cease to treat me with such harshness and cruelty, and to vex me so seriously. What is the evil thing which I have done unto you, that ye should rejoice over me with such keen pleasure? I have never done any injury to you, and I have never committed an act of injustice against you. If the Lord will He can prepare my way of escape, not only from you, but from everybody. Do not therefore, O my brethren, rejoice over me because evils have risen up against me, for it is written, "Rejoice not over any man who is about to die; remember that we must all die." <sup>1</sup> I served as a soldier with you at one time, therefore do not treat me with contumely, and for God's sake remove this gag from me, so that I may be able to say the word I would say unto my mother.' And the soldiers shewed compassion and removed the gag from his mouth, and Victor went into his house.

And when his mother had seen him, she was greatly disturbed within herself, and she rose up on her throne, and she said, 'Is it thou, O my son Victor, | thou light of mine Fol. 9 a  
 eyes?' And when she saw that he was naked, and that he 17  
 was wearing iron fetters on his hands and on his feet, she said unto him, 'Why art thou in this state, O my son Victor? Truly my soul is greatly disturbed when I see thee in this state. Art thou mad? Could not the Emperor have

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ps. lxxix. 11; Heb. ix. 27.

adjudged thee [to pay] money, rather than treat thee in this way?' And Apa Victor said unto his mother, 'Weep thou, O my mother, for they are going to remove the name of Victor from thy house this day. Now, therefore, hearken thou unto me, O my mother, and I will declare in thine ears my words which are sweet. Before everything do thou fear God, and do thou glorify His saints. Keep holy His sabbaths. Observe the times of fastings. Neglect neither the widows nor the orphans, for from this day forward I myself shall be an orphan, without father and without mother, so that the lovingkindness which thou shewest in this world will God also shew to some one else. May He transfer it to me myself in that other world which I am about to enter, for there is nothing greater than love (i. e. charity). Visit those who are sick. Clothe him that is naked. Give drink to him that is thirsty. Receive a stranger into thy house, because from this day onward I shall be myself a stranger. Thus shall the blessing of Sarra<sup>1</sup> be upon thee. The things which I have spoken unto thee, O my mother, may God make sufficient for thy soul.

EOL. 96
III
 'Now, therefore, O my mother, I know of a certainty that I shall never have a sight of thee again after this present sight, even if I live. If thou hearest that I have died, seek after my body and bring it to this place. Make not thyself like | unto my father who hateth [his] son, but be thou compassionate. And do thou ascribe glory unto God by day and by night, so that He may shew compassion unto thee in the days of necessity. Now, therefore, may God bless thee because of the refreshing (or, rest) which thou hast given unto me during the little time which I have been with thee; and may my soul rest with thee for ever! And now I am going to a strange country, and into a city that is not mine, wherein I shall beg from one person after another, and

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Victor wished that his mother might have a son in her old age: compare Gen. xvii. 21; xxi. 1 ff.

wherein I shall be a helpless and a most miserable stranger. Verily, O my mother, I am become an orphan, fatherless and motherless. If at this present time a man goeth away on a journey into a far country, whether in connection with trafficking or whether for some other purpose, when he cometh back after a long time to his house he will find his servants, and his parents, and his kinsfolk alive; and if he hath suffered tribulation in the strange land he will forget his sufferings, because he will find all his people safe and sound. On the other hand, wretched and miserable is that man who, when he goeth on a journey into a strange country, must abide in exile until he die, and indeed, such is my own ease this day. I am going to make myself a stranger unto thee, and unto all the people of my house. Swear by thy salvation, O my mother, that thou wilt not neglect to enquire after my body. If I die, be not forgetful of my youth. Remember, O my mother, that I passed nine months in thy womb before thou didst bring me forth, and that I drank at thy breasts for three years.'

Then straightway his mother and his slaves wept [for him], for he was a kind-hearted man, and would hearken unto the man of no account as well as unto the noble. And his mother said, 'Look at me, O my son Victor. What hath happened to thee? Could not the Emperor have sentenced thee | to pay fol. 10a a fine of gold or silver, rather than have made thee endure 16 these things and banishment to a remote city? Explain to me why it is that thou art in this disgraceful state. Explain to me so that I may sacrifice my own soul (or, life) to save thee. Is not thy father present in the Palace that the Emperor hath done these things unto thee?'

And Apa Victor said unto his mother, 'All these things have happened unto me because of my father, but God shall, in truth, forgive him, O my mother. Had it not been for the Emperor my father would have cut off my head. A stranger hath had compassion upon me, and my father hath not had

compassion upon me this year. O my mother, if my father shall do evil(?) shall he not die? Diocletian shall become blind before he dieth, he shall receive alms at the gate of the city of Antioch, and his seed shall perish quickly, because he hath persecuted the Name of the Lord Jesus. Woe be unto every one who shall hearken unto him, for their habitation shall be the pit of the abyss for ever, and their father is the Devil.'

And his mother said unto Apa Victor, 'Dost thou not know that in the coming month I am going to take thy bride for thee?' And Apa Victor said unto his mother, 'O my mother, what use is it for thee to bring me a bride, and to put riches of every kind into my hands? For it is written, "The world shall pass away and the desirable things thereof, but he who shall do the will of God shall abide for ever."<sup>1</sup> Now therefore, O my mother, do thou the will of God, so that thou mayest live for ever. For gold and silver rust, [fine] raiment becometh moth-eaten and falleth into holes,<sup>2</sup> a man dieth and he turneth into corruption in the tomb, and the remembrance of him perisheth on the earth;<sup>3</sup> but the righteous man shall never be moved.<sup>4</sup> | O my mother,

**R** say not in thy heart that possessions are of value, for they have no value with God, Who can make the poor man into a rich man, and the rich man into a poor man before the sun shall set this day.'

After these things he set out and departed, and he took off the ring which was on his finger, and gave it to his mother, and he prayed to God in the following words, saying, 'Jesus, my Lord, Who sittest upon the chariot of the Cherubim and Seraphim,<sup>5</sup> [Whom the angels] stand before, Whom the denizens of the heavens call "Sabaoth",<sup>6</sup> Whom the peoples on the earth call "Jesus the Christ", Whom the nations [call]

<sup>1</sup> 1 John ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. vi. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Job xviii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lv. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. xviii. 10; lxxx. 1; xcix. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. vi. 3; Rev. iv. 8.

“the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit”, keep Thou me without movement (i. e. steadfast), and without trepidation. Lead Thou me not into temptation, for I am not capable of bearing up against it, but deliver me from the Evil One. For unto Thee belong the power and the glory for ever. Amen. O my Lord, be Thou with me in every place wherein they shall take me, for I know not whither they will carry me.’

After these words he blessed all his household and saluted (i. e. kissed) them. And he sealed the door of his bedroom in the Name of the Christ Jesus, and came out, and said, ‘O my house and my servants, truly I am departing from you, and I am departing from thee, O my mother; never again after this moment shall I return to gaze upon you. Remember, O my servants, that I have never | neglected (?) any one Fol. 11 a of you, or [any] stranger. I am not like unto other young R& men who are uninstructed, and I have never spoken a word out of place, but I have paid to the humble man the respect that was due to his humble estate, and to the noble the honour that was due to his exalted degree. Verily, O my mother, with the very same treatment which I have meted out to the general and the eparch, have I treated the man who was poor and him who was wretched, and I have paid honour unto them as unto God. I have never for a single day manifested any sign of haughtiness and pride, for I knew that each and every one of us must die.’

And after these things Apa Victor came out and joined himself unto the soldiers, and they put the gag in his mouth, and they seized him, and dragged him along, and placed him in a boat; and when they had arrived at Rakote, they transferred him to the prison, and they delivered the letter [of the Emperor] to Armenius, Count of Rakote. And at the third hour of the twentieth day of Pharmoute, the soldiers took the letter and had it read to the Duke, according to that which Diocletian had written therein.

THE SECOND MARTYRDOM OF SAINT APA VICTOR THE GENERAL. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING COME UPON US, AND MAY WE ALL BE SAVED. AMEN.

Fol. 11 b AND the Duke was in the praetorium passing sentences of  
 kb judgement upon the soldiers for the sake of the Name of the Christ, and he commanded that Apa Victor should be guarded in prison until the following day. And on the morrow, when the Count was seated on the judgement throne, in the midst of the market-place of Rakote, he gave orders, saying, 'Bring to me this profane man Victor, who hath been banished hither, and concerning whom the Emperor's letter hath already been read to me.' And when they had brought Victor before the Count, he said unto him, 'Wilt thou not read the letter which concerneth my patient endurance again? [If thou wilt] thou wilt find stated in it that I have been banished to this place for the sake of this Name [of Christ, for they] said, "Offer sacrifice [to Apollo]"; because I will not offer up sacrifice [I have been brought here].' The Duke said unto him, 'O bad head! Wouldst thou make a mock of me? By the health of Apollo, this is thy punishment: we are to destroy thy body by fire. Knowest thou not that it is the Emperor who hath commanded me what I am to do unto thee? He hath commanded me to cast thee into the furnace of the baths, but I would shew mercy unto thee for the sake of thy father.'

And Apa Victor spake unto the Duke, saying, 'Yesterday thou didst disgrace my father; do not disgrace him to-day. And moreover, [in spite of what] thou sayest, I will make



bold and will speak in thy presence, according to this world. In times past, before I was delivered over unto thee, I received rations and money [from the Emperor], and I was also the fourth officer in his Palace with the rank of Count; and, after the Emperor, my father was the second [in rank] in the Palace. But if I go on to speak of these things thou wilt say that I am a man of overweening pride. O Duke, remember thou the day wherein thou wast appointed Count and didst enter upon thy duties. | Thou didst make supplication Fol. 12 a unto my father, saying, "Make me Count of Rakote." And R<sup>U</sup> my father did not consider thee of sufficient honour for the position, and would not discuss the matter with thee. Then thou didst make entreaty to me secretly, and didst say, "Speak to thy father on my behalf. Let him take from me three centenarii of gold, and give me the office of Count." And I took thee into my house, and I made all my slaves to wait upon thee, and they received gifts of gold armlets [from thee]. And after these things my father came in, and I threw myself on my knees before him on the ground, and I remained there until he was persuaded by me, and he made thee a Count. And yet thou didst not keep in mind any one of these things for which thou canst now repay me. But it is written in the Gospel, "He who did eat of my bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me."<sup>1</sup> And the Duke made [his men] to inflict gashes in the face of Apa Victor, and he made them to stretch him out with thongs [of leather], and they gave unto him fourteen stripes with the triple flogging whips, saying, 'I will torture thee until thou diest, according to the orders of the Emperor.' Afterwards the Duke made his man to drive iron nails into his hands and feet, and he covered (?) his whole body with iron, from his head to his feet, and he cast him into prison, where they abandoned him to hunger and thirst until the following day.

<sup>1</sup> John xiii. 18; Ps. xli. 9.

And when the morning was come the Count made them bring Apa Victor unto him, and when he had been brought into his presence every part of him was loaded with iron [fetters]. And the blessed man Apa Victor was not able to walk because of the weight of the iron which had been placed on his body; and the soldiers supplied twelve [men and] they carried him. And when he had entered into the praetorium {  
 Fol. 12<sup>b</sup> the Duke said unto him, 'Can Jesus in Whom thou believest  
 RE deliver thee out of my hands? [Nay]. Put thy belief in Apollo, who is able to save thee, and especially in Artemis, the greatest of the gods.' And Apa Victor said unto him, 'I will not offer up sacrifice.' And the Duke commanded his men to hoist him up on the wooden framework of the rack, and he said unto Apa Victor, 'Wilt thou offer up sacrifice or not?' And Apa Victor said, 'I will not offer up sacrifice.' And the Duke commanded his men to work the rack and stretch him, but Apa Victor did not feel at all what they were doing, and the executioners were exhausted, and they ceased working the rack. The Duke said unto them, 'Why do ye not continue to work the rack?' And they said unto him, 'He is like unto a wall, or a stone, which feeleth nothing however much it may be racked.'

And the heart of Apa Victor was carried up into the heights of heaven, and [the angels] instructed him concerning the kingdom of heaven, and concerning the city of the righteous, and the saints saluted him. And Abel and Zacharias came up to him, and they said unto him, 'Greatly distinguished art thou, O Apa Victor.' Michael said unto him, 'Bear patiently, O valiant athlete. Fear thou not this tyrant, for I will be with thee, and I will deliver thee. I say unto thee that as the angels are wont to utter the names of all the saints coupled with [their own] names,  
 Fol. 13<sup>a</sup> even so shalt thou be named with the three holy { [children],  
 RE Ananias, Azarias, and Misael. And thy throne shall be established in heaven before the Lord Jesus. At the moment

when thou shalt lift thy hands up to heaven they shall take the form of the seal of heaven, and they shall give light within the veil, before the altar of sacrifice. And an exceedingly sweet-smelling savour shall rise up before the Father, for the refreshing of those who are in the heavens, and the refreshing shall extend also to those who are undergoing punishments (or, tortures). And the angels shall rejoice over thee, and Jesus shall exult upon His throne, and all the saints shall be glad with thee.' After [these things] Michael released the soul of Apa Victor, and it came and entered again into his body, which was suspended upon the frame of the rack. And Michael informed him concerning everything that should happen to him.

And Apa Victor resisted the Duke strenuously. And the Duke said unto him, 'Wilt thou offer up sacrifice or not?' but Apa Victor answered him not a word. And when the Duke saw that he would not speak, he commanded his men to bring six lighted torches, and to fasten them to his sides (or, ribs). And when they had done this he made them bring a number of red-hot pointed irons, and they thrust them through his belly until they came out of his back. And they did these things three times to him [until his skin peeled off] Fol. 13 b him. Afterwards the Duke said unto him, 'Wilt thou not KC [now] offer up sacrifice?' And the Duke commanded his men to place hot ashes upon his head, and to put a helmet [of iron] on him; and Apa Victor did not sink under this torture. And the Duke made them to take him off the frame of the rack, and to lay him upon the bed of iron, and to kindle a fire beneath it. And he made them pour burning sulphur and pitch, [mixed with other] inflammable substances, down his throat. And the Duke said unto him, 'Hearken unto me, and do not die a death of torture. Is it not better for thee to be with me? Do thou not wish to live with me? Dost thou not know that thy Lords, the Emperors, are they who have written [to me] concerning thee?' And Apa Victor

was not able to answer a word, because of the pain which he was suffering from his torturing, for the bed of iron was exceedingly hot under him.

And the Duke said unto Apa Victor, 'Speak one word unto me, and I will release thee, O thou unholy exile!' And Apa Victor said unto the Duke, 'Seeing that I did not hearken unto my father nor unto the Emperor when they made entreaty to me, and seeing that I continued my disobedience to the point that I forsook all my possessions, and abandoned this world which shall pass away, according to that which is written, "Man shall die, and the creeping things and the worms shall possess his inheritance,"<sup>1</sup> [thinkest thou that I shall hearken unto thee?'] And the Duke was wroth, and he commanded his servants to throw him into the furnace of the public baths of Rakote, bound hand and foot.

Fol. 14 a And he bore iron fetters on his hands and feet | and there  
 R7 was a gag in his mouth. And certain people of the city, both men and women and children, wept for him, and they said, 'Woe for this wretched man, for his body will be destroyed in the fire; would that he had been one of those who offered up sacrifice!'

And Apa Victor stood up and prayed in the midst of the fire, saying, 'I beseech thee, O my Lord Jesus the Christ, to be unto me a helper, and to assist me in all my tribulations, for I am a wretched and most miserable creature, in order that all this city may know that there is no other God besides Thee, Who art [God] alone.' And at that very moment the holy Archangel Michael came down from heaven, and went into the furnace of the bath, and spread out his holy apparel over Apa Victor, and he caused the flame of fire to become like the dew at the first hour of the day. And he lifted him up on his wing of light, and the wing turned into a green meadow. And Michael broke the iron fetters which were fastened upon his hands and his feet, and he and

<sup>1</sup> Job xxi. 26.

Apa Victor remained talking together concerning the mysteries of the kingdom which is in the heavens, and the city of the righteous.

And after [these things] the Duke said unto those who were sitting with him, and unto the men of Rakote, 'O ye Alexandrians, Jesus shall not deliver him out of my hands, for there are no gods besides Apollo and Artemis.' And the Duke stripped off his clothes in order that he might go into the bath to bathe, | and Michael raised up the [stone] slab of Fol. 14 b the bath, and thrust Apa Victor upon it. And the governor KH came into the bath, and cried out, saying, 'Take shame to thyself this day, O Apa Victor, and let thy God in Whom thou hast placed thy trust be ashamed also.' And Apa Victor said unto the Duke, 'O thou lawless man, why dost thou revile my God? Thou art wondering where thy god Apollo is, and thou sayest, "Offer up sacrifice unto the gods who cannot move." Nevertheless thou knowest well that there is power in my God to deliver me from thy tortures.' And Armenius the Count said unto him, 'This day do I know that thou art an arch-magician, and that thou dost work magic.' And the Duke set out to leave the bath, and he mounted his horse, and sentenced Apa Victor to be beheaded:

And the magistrates (or, authorities) and the people of Rakote made entreaty to the Duke that he would not put Apa Victor to death in their city, because they were afraid lest Apa Victor's father would destroy the whole city on account of it, saying, 'He is a mighty general. Let him be banished to the south of Egypt, and let them put Apa Victor to death there.' Then the Duke meditated within himself, saying, 'What shall I gain by making his father an enemy of mine?' Then the Duke took a sheet of skin, and he wrote thereon the following words: 'I, Armenius, the Duke of Rakote, write to Eutuchianus, the Count of the Thebaïd. | Imme- Fol. 15 a diately they bring unto thee this profane man Victor, who KH hath been banished [hither by the Emperor], examine thou

into his case most carefully, and either make him offer up sacrifice or put him to death, according to the decree of our Lord the Emperor.' Then the Duke delivered Apa Victor over to the soldiers that they might take him to the south, to the Thebaïd, to Eutuchianus, the Duke of the Thebaïd.

THE THIRD MARTYRDOM OF SAINT APA VICTOR.  
IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN.

AND on the twentieth day of Pharmoute they banished the blessed man Apa Victor, and four soldiers brought him to the south in ten days. There was a collar of iron about his neck, and there were chains on his hands, and ankle-fetters on his legs, and the torturings had made him weak and helpless. And when the soldiers arrived at Antinoë<sup>1</sup> they tied up the boat to the shore, and they found that the governor had that day departed for the south. And they unfurled their sail, and set out for the south, and they overtook the Count [of the Thebaïd] as he was lying becalmed in mid-stream, for there was no wind. And the soldiers brought Apa Victor into the lower part of the boat—now he had neither eaten nor drunk for twelve days—and they delivered him over to Eutuchianus, the Duke, and they gave him a supply of food according to what the Count of Rakote had commanded. And Apa Victor said in his heart, ‘There is something which this lawless man shall do for me, besides that which is in my body.’ ]

Then the Count Eutuchianus commanded them to tie up Fol. 15 b  
the boat to the shore, and to set up his seat of justice at that Α  
place. And when the morning of the following day had come they prepared for him a seat of justice there. And Apa Victor passed the whole night in the lower part of the boat, blessing

<sup>1</sup> A town built by the Emperor Hadrian, and the capital of the Thebaïd in the Roman period; its site is marked by the village of Shêkh ‘Abâdah, on the east bank of the Nile, 176 miles south of Cairo.

God and saying, 'Blessed art Thou, O King of all the ages (or, worlds), the Father the Almighty, and Thine only-begotten Son Jesus the Christ, our Lord, Who hast delivered me in every place whither they have taken me. Stand Thou by me in the future, and be Thou with me in the presence of this lawless man.'

Then Eutuchianus commanded his men to bring Apa Victor to the shore, and he said unto him, 'Thou art Victor, the magician. Now, therefore, in what way wilt thou work magic? Shew me, before I disgrace thee, and thou diest.' Apa Victor answered and said unto the Duke, 'I am not a magician, and I have not devoted myself to the doing of this [kind of] work. On the contrary, I am a servant of the Christ Jesus, Who hath delivered me out of all my tribulations.' And Eutuchianus said unto him, 'For what reason didst thou not offer up sacrifice before thou didst submit to these tortures? However, come now, and offer up sacrifice with the men who are here, so that it may be well with thee.'

Pol. 16 a And Apa Victor answered and said, 'I am not at all | afraid  
 λλ of men, and I will not offer up sacrifice, but I am afraid of my Lord Jesus the Christ. For it is written, "Be not afraid of those who can kill your bodies upon the earth, because there is nothing besides this which they can do unto you. But fear ye Him Who hath the power to destroy your souls and your bodies in Gehenna."'<sup>1</sup>

And the Duke said unto him, 'Hast thou come hither to persuade (or, convert) us by a homily which is vain? If thou darest again to utter words in my presence I will make my servants to tear out thy tongue. Unless thy father compel me to release thee I will not set thee free, and though profane and sacrilegious persons ought not to be cast into the furnace of a bath, thou art worthy of death, and death shall now be thy portion.' And the Duke commanded his servants to fasten the hands of Apa Victor behind him, and they cut out

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 28.



his tongue, and cut off the outer parts of his lips. And he made them bring out his necessary organs, and pour boiling oil upon them, and he made them pierce them with iron borers. And other tools which had been made red-hot in the fire did he make them drive into Apa Victor's ears, and these they worked deeper and deeper into them until at length the fumes of the burning flesh penetrated into the inmost parts of his head. And he made them thrust these red-hot tools under the nails of his feet and the skin of his head, and he made them scatter over him burning coals of fire, and he made them to bring fire and lay it over his body. And the Duke said unto him, | 'Wilt thou offer sacrifice or not? [If thou wilt Fol. 16 b not] I will put thee to death with excruciating tortures.' Xf And he made them bring vessels (?) filled with boiling bitumen, which they emptied down his throat. And the Duke said unto him, 'Wilt thou offer sacrifice or not, or wilt thou die by torture?' And the blessed man Apa Victor said unto the Duke, 'Woe be unto thee, O Duke! Thou deniest God for the sake of things which have been made by the hands of man, and thou and thine Emperors shall be punished with severe punishment.' And Eutuchianus was wroth, and he took an oath by the life of the Emperor and by the lives of the gods, and he said unto Apa Victor, 'Since thou wilt not sacrifice, and since thou hast been put to shame on the rack, I must destroy thee by banishment until thou shalt die.'

And Epiphanius the recorder answered and said, 'Hearken unto me, and let me say this thing unto thee, O my Lord Count. Behold, there is a certain Camp very far away in the south which is deserted, and there is no man living in it. Behold, it is fifteen years since I became a soldier, and [during that time] I have never seen any one in it. Now, therefore, banish Apa Victor to that place, [and keep him there] until he shall die.' And the Count of the Thebaïd commanded [that this should be done, and he passed] sentence on him, saying, 'I, Eutuchianus, hereby command that this profane man Victor

be taken to the Camp of Hierakion,<sup>1</sup> and that he be compelled to remain | there until he die.' And straightway four men seized Apa Victor, and carried him away to that place.

And the noble man Apa Victor was strong and of good courage, and he related to the four [soldiers] his sufferings in the place of torture up to that time. And it came to pass on a certain day that Apa Victor was outside the place of torture, and the Devil came unto him in the form of a soldier, and said unto him, 'Hail, Apa Victor. I am a soldier of the imperial Palace, and thy father hath sent me unto thee to give thee this message: "Rise up, come back to me here, so that I may make thee a general. Have I not suffered pain [in long-ing] for thee? Come back, so that I may make thee [a general]. Wilt thou not hearken unto me? It is thou thyself alone who hast drawn upon thy head these sufferings. Other people, strangers, are eating up thy goods." Dost thou not know that thou art an only son, and that thy parents have no son [but thee] to succeed them? They have adopted (?) as a son the offspring (?) of [one] of their slaves. And now he rideth the horses, and [the Emperor] hath made him a Count in thy place. He weareth thine apparel, and meanwhile thou art destroying thy soul with tribulations. And behold, thou art dwelling in this desert place! Art thou not afraid lest thieves attack thee by night?'

Then the Devil began to produce a written letter, and he unrolled it before Apa Victor, and said unto him, 'Look at this, and thou wilt recognize the handwriting of thy father and his seal.' And Apa Victor looked closely at the man, and he knew of a certainty that he was a phantom, and he said unto him, | 'Get thee gone from me! It is through thee that the whole world is in a state of disruption, and it is through thee that the worship of idols flourisheth.' And the blessed man Apa Victor turned his face towards the east, and

<sup>1</sup> Probably Hierakonpolis, a town on the left or west bank of the Nile, about 20 miles to the south of Thebes; the Egyptians called the oldest town on the site 'Nekhen'.

said, 'Shew Thy compassion upon me, O Thou only Son of Thy Father, my Lord Jesus the Christ, and deliver Thou me out of all my tribulations.' And when the Devil heard the Name of Jesus, straightway he made himself visible.

And Apa Victor continued to live in the Camp, and | Jesus was with him in everything which he did. And the noble man Victor meditated within himself and said, 'What kind of work can I do whereby I may live?' Now he had learned the trade of an artisan, and whilst he was living by himself in the Camp he used to make seats and lamp-stands. And it came to pass one day whilst the blessed man Apa Victor was living in exile that the Lord Jesus came to him. Now He had changed His apparel (or, form), and had taken the appearance of a grey-headed old man, who had come thither from a far-distant place. And He knocked at the gate of the Camp, and Apa Victor came outside, and when he saw the grey-headed old man he was filled with sorrow and compassion for Him, and he kissed Him, saying, 'Come inside, O my lord brother, Thou good man; it seemeth to me as if I had seen Jesus this day.' And Apa Victor did not know who the old man was, and the two of them went into the tower wherein Victor lived. Then Apa Victor said unto the man, 'Let us offer up prayer to God'; and Jesus said unto him, 'Let us offer up prayer.' And Apa Victor said unto Him, 'Do Thou stand up | first, because Thou Fol. 18 a art greater than I, and Thou art [more] holy [than I]. I am Æ nineteen years old this day,<sup>1</sup> and the sign of this world hath not as yet ceased to manifest itself in my body, and the wickedness of this world hath not entirely disappeared from my heart.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Forgive me, O my brother! I will stand up [and pray].' And Jesus and Apa Victor spread out their hands, and it came to pass that as they were praying the ten fingers of Jesus became ten lamps of fire which penetrated to the throne of the Father.

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'I have come into nineteen years to-day'.

And it came to pass that when they had finished praying Apa Victor went forward and saluted Jesus—now he knew not who He was—and he said unto Him, ‘Sit Thou down so that I may be able to enjoy Thy face fully, for behold, it is a very long time since I have seen a man. And I adjure Thee to inform me truthfully of what place Thou art a native, so that I may know whether Thou art a native of my own city [or not].’ And Jesus said unto him, ‘Thou art a Roman (Greek ?) of Cilicia. Thy father is Romanus, and thy mother is Martha, and the wife whom they betrothed to thee is Theonôè; but God hath chosen thee for Himself.’ And Apa Victor wept in His face, and said unto Him, ‘O my brother, great is Thy faith. I see that Thou art a prophet, or perhaps Thou art an angel of God. But tell me news about my house (or, home), for behold, it is a very long time since I departed from my country.’ And Jesus answered [and said], ‘O my brother, shew an act of lovingkindness to me, and give me a cake of bread, so that I may eat it, for it is seven days

Fol. 18 b

ⲁⲥ O my brother, this day is the fortieth day in which nothing hath entered my mouth, and for forty days I have not taken my clothes off my body. And as the Lord liveth, I have neither bread nor water in this wilderness, nor anything whatsoever which hath the appearance of food. But now, O my brother, rise up, take this lamp-stand and these seats (or, stools), and also my shoe latchet, and go Thou into the city which is near and sell them at their [proper] price, and buy us some bread that we may eat, lest our souls decay through weakness.’

And Jesus answered and said unto him, ‘Where in this wilderness dost thou find a man with whom to hold converse? And who is it that taketh care to provide thee with food?’ And Apa Victor answered and said unto Him, ‘Woe be unto me, O my brother! [Long will it be] before I shall arrive in that other world wherein no respect of persons is shewn.

Mayest Thou find it. My Lord the Christ dwelleth there, the Apostles and the Patriarchs dwell there, and thousands of thousands, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands stand round about it. And if any man who is a sinner shall arrive therein he shall not find boldness (or, freedom of speech) therein, because of the sins which he hath committed, both those committed *during the day and those committed during the night*. As for me, how wretched shall I be in that hour! Woe is me, because of the ignorance which hath been set in the hearts of men, whereby each one faileth to remember death until the moment when it overtaketh him before he knoweth it! | Woe is me, for I have made supplication to death, but I have not found it. I have begged that some sickness might attack me, but it hath not done so. Thou knowest, O my Lord, that I have made entreaty for my death more than for my life, for I am without father and without mother in this world. I bear witness by my Lord Jesus the Christ, that if Thou departest from me this day, Thou shalt come back again and shalt visit me. I am the servant which is unprofitable. When I shall die Thou shalt bury my body, lest it remain lying about in this world, wherein there is no man whatsoever who shall keep me in remembrance.'

Eol. 19.

A7

Then Jesus had compassion upon Apa Victor, and He looked upon him as he wept, and said unto him, 'Dost thou know Who I am? I am He Who delivered thee from the rack of torture at Rakote. I am He Who delivered thee from the iron bed. I am He Who kept thee in safety in the furnace of the bath. I am Jesus the Christ, Who delivered thee from all thy tribulations. I will be with thee in every place whither thou shalt go. Grieve thou not because thou art living in this wilderness. Amen, I say unto thee, that thou shalt be with Me in the Jerusalem of heaven, My beloved city. And as I shall take My seat upon My throne, thou also shalt sit upon thy throne. And I will make every

tyrant (or, governor) and every ruler to hold in wonder thy name whensoever they shall hear it. And I will make them to come to thy shrine, and to bring gifts unto thee in My Name. I will make many mighty wonders and signs to become manifest at thy shrine. Whosoever shall come to thy shrine, and shall make a vow, and shall not pay the same, because of these unpaid vows will I enter into judgement with them. | As for this tower wherein thou dwellest, the  
 Fol. 19 b **ΑΗ** multitudes who shall come thereto shall not destroy it. [The story of] thy life and conversation and of thy great valour shall reach the uttermost ends of the earth. This year shalt thou dwell in exile, but in the next year they shall cut off thy head with the sword in this Camp; for thou shalt suffer certain pains for My Name's sake. And I will come unto thee again, and I will give thee strength until thou shalt have put to shame the Duke and his torturings.'

And straightway Apa Victor cast himself down at the feet of the Lord, saying, 'Who am I, that I should be deemed worthy by Thee for Thee to speak to, O my Lord?' And Jesus kissed him, and He departed into heaven, and the angels sang hymns to Him.

And Apa Victor continued to live in the Camp, and the Lord Jesus was with him. And Apa Victor purchased for himself the materials for his burial, and his coffin. And large numbers of soldiers flocked to the Camp for the sake of the blessed man Apa Victor. And the blessed man Apa Victor doubled the number of the prayers which he used to make, and he kept fasts for very long periods, and he diligently observed the Sabbaths, and the Lord Jesus was with him. In the peace of God. May His holy blessing be with us! Amen.

THE FOURTH MARTYRDOM OF APA VICTOR. IN  
THE PEACE OF GOD. BLESS US. AMEN.

AND it came to pass that after Saint Apa Victor was banished he lived in the Camp. And Sebastianus, the Duke, came to inspect | the Camp. And Asterius, the praetor of <sup>Fol. 20 a</sup> the Camp, cast himself down before the Count, and Sotêrichos, ΛΘ who was the accountant (or, clerk), gave him a written statement concerning Apa Victor, so that he might summon him into his presence. Then the Duke ordered his servants to set his judgement throne inside the gate of the Camp, in order that he might hear [the case of] the holy man Apa Victor. And when the morning had come the Duke took his seat upon the throne, and he commanded his servants to bring the righteous man into his presence. And the torturers seized Apa Victor whilst he was in his cell, and he had lentils in his hand, and he was eating, and Apa Victor threw the lentils through the window, saying, ‘O my Lord Jesus the Christ, do Thou make these lentils to become stones which shall never be destroyed! And they shall be a sign unto all the generations which are to come, lest these wicked men tread them down.’ And Apa Victor prayed, saying, ‘O my Lord Jesus the Christ, let me not be put to shame before this wicked man.’ And afterwards he came down [from his cell], and stood before the Duke.

And the Duke said unto him, ‘These are the letters which the Emperor hath sent to be read unto thee; hearken unto them, and offer up sacrifice.’ And Apa Victor answered and said, ‘I belong to a King Who is deathless, and therefore I will not worship an emperor who will die. For all the

Fol. 20<sup>b</sup> kingdoms of the world shall perish and be destroyed, | but  
 ¶ the glory of God shall never, never perish; therefore I will  
 not offer up sacrifice. For the pomp and glory of this world  
 are nothing as compared with God. Verily, I know well  
 that I did receive a salary of sixty<sup>1</sup> from my father, who is  
 a general, and that God hated me because I received these  
 things wickedly. Now therefore, O Duke, neither gold nor  
 silver will be of the least value to a man in the hour of his  
 necessity. For this reason let us fight with ourselves, for  
 forgetfulness hath spread itself over our heart, so that we may  
 never cease to remember the death [which cometh] in this  
 world. I have never glorified myself, and I have never  
 exalted myself. For this reason that which is written is  
 fulfilled in me: "He who exalteth himself shall be abased,  
 and he who abaseth himself shall be exalted."'<sup>2</sup>

Then Sebastianus was exceedingly wroth, and he said unto  
 Apa Victor, 'Offer up sacrifice.' And Apa Victor answered  
 and said, 'I will not offer up sacrifice. Whatsoever thou  
 wishest to do unto me that do. I fell into the hands of the  
 four torturers(?) before this, and I was not afraid of them, for  
 the Lord gave me strength during all my torturings. Now  
 therefore, O Duke, I was banished to this spot because of this  
 Name, for [they said], "Offer up sacrifice," [and I would not  
 do so]. And, moreover, I do not wish to remain in this world  
 which shall dissolve away and perish. Be it known unto  
 thee also, O Duke, that if thou put me to the torture many,  
 many times, thou wilt only give additional strength to the  
 reasoning power of the mind which is within me. Wholly  
 fitting for me is it that I should be held worthy to endure  
 revilings for the Name of the Christ.'

And the Duke said unto Apa Victor, 'Cease thy say; thou  
 Fol. 21<sup>a</sup> art always talking! Art thou a deacon, | or a reader, that  
 ¶ thou possessest such perfect knowledge of this [kind] of  
 wisdom?' And Apa Victor said, 'I would give thanks unto

<sup>1</sup> Some word omitted here?

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxiii. 12.



the Christ [if I were], only I am not worthy of so great a gift as this—to be made a deacon or a reader. The grace of God is received through Jesus the Christ, Who giveth wisdom unto every man whose heart is right with Him, because He is the giver of riches, and His treasury is filled with wisdom [which] He giveth unto every one who shall profit through Him in respect of good things. For as the good husbandman is in the habit of giving manure to his field, so that he may supply it with strength and enable it to bring forth its crop, even so doth the wisdom of God live in the soul of him that seeketh after it, and it permitteth neither the net of death nor the wiles of the Devil to have dominion over it. For the Lord is mighty, and He is able to perform everything.’ And the Duke said unto him, ‘Dost thou then go so far as to choose for thyself death rather than life?’ And Apa Victor answered and said unto him, ‘This death is not by any means death, but life everlasting. I am able to endure patiently thy torturings.’

Then the Duke made his servants to strip Apa Victor naked, and to cut his sinews, and to fasten his hands behind him, and to drive skewers into him; and afterwards he made them to dismember (?) him. And the Duke said unto him, ‘Offer up sacrifice.’ And Apa Victor said unto him, ‘I will not offer up sacrifice.’ And afterwards he made his servants to break the joints of his legs and arms until his bones stuck out through his skin. And Apa Victor said unto him, ‘I give thanks unto Thee, O my Lord Jesus the Christ, because all the joy of the Christ hath drawn nigh unto me.’ [And the Duke said unto him, ‘They delivered thee over into my hands as a magician. Now, then, if thou dost not hearken unto me, I will torture thee with the most terrible tortures.’ And Apa Victor said, ‘I will not offer up sacrifice.’ And the Duke said unto him, ‘Why dost thou not go on taking thy salary? Why dost thou take no pleasure in thy chariot and in thine armour?’ And Apa Victor answered and said,


Fol. 21 b



‘Because they are used in acts of violence. For this reason I will not eat the rations. I have in the world which is to come spiritual food laid up for me, and when I shall have eaten thereof I shall never feel hunger again.’ And the Duke commanded them to strip him naked, and to cast him into a furnace wherein the fire had been lighted for two days. And afterwards they brought him into the presence of the Duke, who said unto him, ‘O wicked head! I swear by the health of Apollo that thy punishment shall be the destruction of thy body by fire.’ And the Duke commanded [his servants] to prepare a furnace, and to heat it for four days, and then to cast Apa Victor into it. And Apa Victor prayed in the depths of the furnace, saying, ‘O my Lord Jesus the Christ, at the [mention of] Whose Name the sea dried up, let [this] fire be extinguished, and let the heat thereof be destroyed. Blessed be Thy Name for ever! Amen.’

And they brought him and set him before the Duke, [and it was found that] the fire had not touched him. Then Sebastianus said unto Apa Victor, ‘By the glorious gods Apollo and Artemis, I will torture thee [sorely]. I will send and bring a magician who is more powerful than thou, [and] he shall make an end of thy magic.’ | And the Duke commanded them to bring a magician. And the magician [came], and he made medicaments [containing] the essence and the venom of serpents, and he pronounced over them a very large number of [magical] names. And after [this] he said unto Apa Victor, ‘Take [these], swallow them, and then I shall see if thou art strong enough [to suffer in no way thereby].’ And the blessed man Apa Victor said unto the magician, ‘I have no desire to swallow them, but in order that thou mayest know that my God hath power to make of no effect every kind of magic, [I will do so].’ And Apa Victor made over himself the Sign of the Cross in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, saying, ‘Do Thou not let me be put to shame before this lawless man.’

Thereupon Apa Victor swallowed the medicaments, and no member whatsoever of his suffered the least injury; on the contrary, he was filled with a feeling of happiness like unto the happiness of those who have been drinking wine. And the magician made other medicaments which were far more powerful than those which he had made first, using even the gall and the humours from a corpse. These he placed in a vessel, and he pronounced over them such mighty magical names that even the earth shot out light at the mention of them. And he said unto Apa Victor, 'My lord, take these this time also, and if no evil thing happen to thee I will believe in thy God.' Then the blessed man took these medicaments and drank them, and no evil whatsoever happened to him.

Then the magician said, 'Strong indeed is he who hath shewn strength! | Mighty is he who hath shewn might! <sup>Fol. 22 b</sup>  
Thou hast delivered [thy] soul from death, and made it to   
live once again. For [it is with thee as it was with] Andrew, when he was broken on the cross, he was made new again. And this is what happeneth unto those who have gone astray in their sins; when they wish [it] the Lord maketh them into new creatures again.' And straightway the magician relinquished all the possessions which he had, and he was taught the Name of the Holy Trinity, and all his books which were full of magic he burned in the fire.

And the Duke said unto Apa Victor, 'Be wise, and offer up sacrifice.' And Apa Victor said unto him, 'Indeed I am wise at all times.' And the Duke said unto him, 'But this time thou art acting the fool.' And Apa Victor said, 'The fools of the world are those whom God hath chosen to put to shame the wise.'<sup>1</sup> The Duke said unto him, 'Where is this writing found?' And Apa Victor said, 'It is Paul who wrote it.' And the Duke said, 'Is Paul then a god?' And Apa Victor said unto him, 'As the wise man among architects

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. i. 27.

when he is about to build seeketh for a site whereon another hath laid the foundation, and then buildeth upon it, even so is Paul, who came at the end—he setteth the roof on the Scriptures.’ And the Duke said unto him, ‘Cease thou to utter such words of folly as these, for these actions will profit thee nothing, and thou shalt die. Thou art a child. Hearken unto me now; do thou offer up sacrifice so that I may set thee at liberty.’ And Apa Victor said unto him, ‘I am not

Fol. 23 a

¶¶

a fool; | nay, I am a wise man. If I were to hearken unto thee, and if I were to offer up sacrifice, I should in truth be a fool. Fools can never walk in the truth, because their hearts make them blind, and they become liars, like their father the Devil.’

And the Duke was wroth, and he commanded [his servants] to tear out the intestines from his body down to his feet (or, legs). And Apa Victor spake before the Duke, saying, ‘The tendons, nerves, and sinews which thou hast dragged out from my body are like unto the pointed instruments wherewith [the physicians] probe a wound in order to liberate the foetid pus which is in it, and to give relief to the whole body. That is the ease with me at this moment. And now I will give thanks unto my Lord Jesus the Christ, for ever and ever. Amen.’

And the Duke made [his servants] bring some oil, and they lighted a fire under it, and kept it burning until the oil was boiling. And he made them pour it upon his necessary organs, and immediately the oil had been poured upon them they fell off on the ground. And the blessed man Apa Victor answered and said, ‘This oil which thou hast poured upon me is like unto the cool water which a man is wont to drink during the hot weather, and in which he washeth himself so that he may feel the relief thereof from the heat in his whole body.’ And the Duke commanded [his servants] to hoist him up on the rack of torture, and to stretch him thereon, and he made them put six burning

torches close to his body ; and they racked him for a period of two hours. And the fire did not scorch his body in the least degree, for God was with him, and He gave him strength in all his tribulations.

And the Duke said unto him, 'O wicked head! I weary myself. I would spare thee from being put to shame, | and Fol. 23 b  
thou wilt not turn (i. e. repent). Come now, offer up sacrifice.' ☩

And Apa Victor said unto him, 'Yesterday thou didst spare me ; to-day spare thou me not. Do whatsoever it pleaseth thee to do unto me.' And the Duke commanded [his servants] to pour vinegar and ashes into his mouth. And Apa Victor said, 'This vinegar and these ashes, which thou makest me to drink, are like unto honey dropped down my throat.' Then the Duke commanded his servants to dig out his two eyes whilst he was alive. And straightway the executioners came and thrust red-hot knives into his eyes and ears, and forthwith his two eyeballs were ripped out and fell upon the ground. And a smoke (i. e. dizziness) mounted up in his brain. And Apa Victor said unto the Duke, 'Even if thou hast the power and dost make blind the eyes of my body, I have still left within me other eyes, that is to say, those of the mind and understanding, which will give me light, according to that which Peter the Apostle said, "If it be that ye see with the eyes of the body, ye shall see the works of the world, which are vain, that is to say, fornication, and slandering, and murder, and calumny, and pride, because of which things the wrath of God cometh."<sup>1</sup> Therefore I have no need of the eyes of my body.'

And the Duke answered and said unto him, 'If thou wilt compel me now to inflict further severe tortures upon thee, [I must do so].' And Apa Victor said unto him, 'Inflict upon me any punishment thou wishest to inflict, for I am prepared to bear up under it ; only take care to spare me not.' Then the Duke commanded [his servants] to hang him up

<sup>1</sup> Compare 2 Pet. ii. 14.

Fol. 24 a on a pillar head downwards | for three days and three  
 227 nights, so that all his blood might pour out from his mouth  
 and nostrils; and the soldiers who had hung him up departed  
 to their houses, and left him hanging. And after three days  
 the Duke commanded them to bring him down [from the  
 pillar] and to bring him to him, so that he might know  
 whether he was alive or dead; and straightway the soldiers  
 departed [to fetch him]. And when they laid their hands  
 upon him they became blind. And Apa Victor said, 'In the  
 Name of my God, for Whose sake I am suffering all these  
 sufferings, receive ye your sight through [His] power, which  
 is holy'; and straightway they received their sight. And  
 when the Duke saw what had taken place, he commanded  
 [the soldiers] to flay his body, and to tear out his tongue.  
 And Apa Victor said unto the Duke, 'Even though thou  
 strippest off me my skin which is outside me, I have still  
 another skin, which is inside me, and which neither thy  
 power nor thy tortures can injure. And again, though thou  
 shalt cut out my tongue, God is wont to perform judgement  
 [on behalf of] those whose mouths are silenced. Now,  
 therefore, I care nothing for thy tortures.'

And whilst the blessed man Apa Victor was saying these  
 things, behold, a certain young woman whose name was  
 Stephanou, who was the wife of a soldier, looked out through  
 her window—now she was about fifteen years of age—and  
 cried out, saying, 'Blessed art thou, O Apa Victor, and  
 blessed art thou in all thy works. All thy sacrifices have  
 been received from thy hands, even as were received the  
 sacrifices of Abel,<sup>1</sup> the righteous man, which he brought unto  
 God in integrity of heart. God shall shew compassion upon  
 thee as He did upon Enoch,<sup>2</sup> the scribe of righteousness.

Fol. 24 b Thou art perfect and righteous in thy generation as was  
 228 Noah.<sup>3</sup> Thou dost believe on God, | as did Abraham.<sup>4</sup>


<sup>1</sup> Gen. iv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. vi. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. v. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 1; xv. 6.

Thou dost lay thy body on the altar as a sacrifice, as did Isaac.<sup>1</sup> Thou dost manifest patient endurance, as did Jacob<sup>2</sup> at the time when Esau pursued him [when he was] going to Laban. Thou art a man of wisdom and understanding, as was Daniel the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> Thou hast been instructed in divine things by thy dreams like Joseph.<sup>4</sup> Thou hast manifested patient endurance like Job,<sup>5</sup> the man of God. The Enemy hath been envious of thee as he was of Isaiah the Prophet, whose body they sawed in twain lengthwise with a wood saw.<sup>6</sup> And the fire hath not touched thee, even as the fire of Nebuchadnezzar touched not the Three Holy [Children].<sup>7</sup> Thou hast given thy heart unto God, even as did David, the son of Jesse. Behold, I swear by thy salvation, O Apa Victor, that two crowns shall be sent down from heaven, being borne by twenty-four angels; one of these is for thee, and the other shall be for me. Though like thee I am a vessel of infirmity, I shall have an inheritance among the mighty ones.'

And when the Duke heard this woman proclaiming these things, he commanded his soldiers to bring her unto him. And when they had brought her, the Duke said unto her, 'How many years old art thou that thou dost dare to proclaim these violent words in such an impudent manner?' And she said unto him, 'I am fifteen years and eight months old.' And the Duke said unto her, 'How many years is it since thou didst marry [thy] husband?' And she said unto him, 'Behold, one year and six months.' | And the Duke answered Fol. 25 a and said unto her, 'Offer up sacrifice now, O Stephanou, and  do not die an evil death.' And she said unto him, 'My name is indeed Stephanou, the interpretation of which is "crown incorruptible", and therefore I will not offer up sacrifice,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxii. 9.<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxvii. 41.<sup>3</sup> Dan. i. 17, 19.<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 5; xli. 12.<sup>5</sup> Job ii. 7, 10.<sup>6</sup> See Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, chap. v, ver. 11 (p. 23).<sup>7</sup> Dan. iii. 27.

because I wish to receive the crown which is [indicated by] my name.' Then the Duke was exceedingly wroth, and he commanded his soldiers to set her between two palm-trees, and to tie her to each of them. And they pulled the trunks of the two palms close to her body by means of a rope, and tied them together. And afterwards the two palms were released suddenly by cutting the rope, and in this way she was rent asunder down to the middle of her body, and she became two pieces. Thus she fulfilled her martyrdom in peace, and she departed into the heavens, unto Him Whom she had loved, the Christ, in great glory. Amen.

Then the Duke passed the sentence of death upon Apa Victor, [and ordered his soldiers] to cut off his head. And the blessed man Apa Victor answered and said unto him. 'I give thanks unto my Lord Jesus the Christ, Who hath given unto me these riches for ever. Now, therefore, hearken ye unto me, and I will declare unto you the following things which have been revealed unto me. Now after I am dead ye yourselves shall also die, at the end of my eleventh [year].<sup>1</sup> And as concerning the Duke Sebastianus, an *ekstasis* shall take place, and certain men in a town shall delay [in paying tribute], and he shall embark in his boat and depart to despoil them, and as [the crew] are tying up the boat to the bank the Duke shall come forth. And as he is coming down from the boat by the landing plank he shall trip up, and the *monobolis* shall penetrate his foot, and the foot shall mortify, and he shall die at the end of the twenty-fourth year after my death. And again, all the wise men and all the orators shall go and eat their midday meal together at the end of the eighth year after my death, | and the house wherein they are

¶ shall fall down upon them, and they shall all die together. And when Asterius, the governor of the Camp, the same who delivered the written accusation of me to the Count, as a result of which he tortured me, shall tie up his ass on the

Fol. 25 b

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the eleventh year after my death.



north side of the Camp when he shall arrive there, and shall beat her, she shall bite him, and he shall fall ill and die. And after ten days the men of my household shall come seeking after my body; give it to them. For I have already bought the funerary swathings for my body and my coffin, in order that they may not bury me in the funerary equipment of a stranger. Only, I pray you, do not prevent my body from being given unto those who shall seek after it. For there shall be an exceedingly great upheaval of the sea, and mighty events shall take place in the spot wherein my body shall be deposited. And the people of the whole country shall come to my shrine, and many mighty deeds shall take place on the spot where they shall deposit my head, and the people of the whole country shall come to my shrine by reason of the mighty deeds which shall be done therein. I am a young man twenty years of age. I entreat you all, O my fellow soldiers, to let me depart to the presence of my Lord Jesus the Christ. This is the day which I have been [long] expecting, and behold, it hath come this day.'

And straightway they tied a gag in his mouth. And Apa Victor said unto the executioner, 'Dismiss me speedily, for the sake of the angels who have hold upon me.' Now the executioner was not pleased<sup>1</sup> to do so, for he only struck his neck with the sword, and his head hung by the skin of the neck. And Apa Victor was in torture, and his spirit was sorely distressed in him. And he looked up and saw Horion the *Kourson*, and he said unto him, 'Take the sword out of the hand of this lawless man, and do thou make an end of me, for this wicked man of Sioout<sup>2</sup> hath already done very many evil things to me during my lifetime, and now also at my death he doth grievously afflict my spirit. May the Lord reward him according to what he hath done unto me.' And Horion

<sup>1</sup> Read *ⲙⲡ ⲓⲣⲁⲛⲁϥ*.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. Asyût. The modern town lies about 210 miles to the south of Cairo.

Fol. 26<sup>a</sup> the | *Koursôn* said unto Apa Victor, ‘My lord, do not think  
ⲏⲁ in thy heart concerning me that I would lift up my hand  
against my brother soldier. I swear by thy salvation, O my  
brother Apa Victor, and by the dire need which is on thee,  
that I have never stretched out my hand even against a bird,  
to shed its blood, and it is impossible for me to lay my hand  
upon thee [with violence]. But I pray thee to remember me  
in the place whereunto thou departest.’ And Apa Victor  
answered and said, ‘The Lord Jesus the Christ shall shew  
mercy unto thee, for in this very same year thou shalt die,  
and the Lord shall forgive thee thy sins. The enemy and  
the martyr shall come forth to thee, [and] I shall follow after  
them and shall sing hymns with them.’

And Horion placed his napkin before his face. And  
[Apa Victor] said unto him, ‘O my beloved brother, I entreat  
thee most earnestly’; and [Horion] girded on the sword.  
And the Camp was shaken three times. Then he cut off his  
head, he consummated his martyrdom. And Horion lifted up  
his eyes to heaven, and he saw the soul of Apa Victor, which  
Ausouel carried [to heaven] in a napkin made of byssus, and  
the saints saluted the soul of Apa Victor. And when they  
had taken off the head of Apa Victor blood mingled with  
milk came forth. And he consummated his glorious martyr-  
dom on the twenty-seventh day of the month Parmoute, at  
the tenth hour of the day. And all the words which he spake  
before they took off his head came true. Peace be upon every  
one who hath suffered martyrdom for the Name of our Lord  
Jesus the Christ, to Whom be glory, and to His Good  
Father, and to the Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial,  
now and always, for ever and ever. Amen.

# THE ENCOMIUM OF CELESTINUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ROME, ON VICTOR THE GENERAL

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7022)

THE ENCOMIUM WHICH WAS PRONOUNCED BY THE GLORIOUS PATRIARCH, THE VERITABLE TEACHER, APA CELESTINUS,<sup>1</sup> ARCHBISHOP OF THE CITY OF ROME, IN HONOUR OF THE MARTYR AND TRUE CROWN-BEARER IN THE CHRIST, THE HOLY VIRGIN, SAINT VICTOR THE GENERAL. HE PRONOUNCED IT ON THE DAY OF HIS HOLY COMMEMORATION, WHICH IS THE TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY OF THE MONTH PARMOUTE, AND HE PRONOUNCED IT IN HIS MARTYRIUM WHICH THE GOD-LOVING EMPEROR<sup>2</sup> HAD BUILT FOR HIM IN ROME. AND HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING THE ADMONISHING OF THE SOUL WHICH MAKETH ITSELF MANIFEST IN WORK, FOR THERE IS NOTHING CERTAIN IN THE LIFE OF MAN EXCEPT SUFFERING AND MISERY. AND HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING THAT WHICH IS WRITTEN IN THE [BOOK OF THE] APOSTLE, 'IT IS A FEARFUL THING TO FALL INTO THE HANDS OF GOD.'<sup>3</sup> AND [HE SPAKE ALSO] CONCERNING THE MISERABLE STATE OF A MAN AT THE MOMENT WHEN HE IS ABOUT TO YIELD UP HIS SPIRIT INTO THE HANDS OF GOD. AND

Fol. 26 b

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<sup>1</sup> He sat from 422 to 432.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. Constantine. See p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. x. 31.

CELESTINUS PRONOUNCED THIS ENCOMIUM WHEN THE EMPEROR VALENTIANUS<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) WAS PRESENT, AND ALL HIS NOBLES, AND ALL THE PEOPLE, BOTH MALE AND FEMALE, WERE WITH HIM, AND THEY CELEBRATED THE [GLORIOUS] FESTIVAL OF SAINT VICTOR, AND MARVELLED ESPECIALLY AT THE WISDOM OF SAINT CELESTINUS. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING COME UPON US, AND MAY WE ALL OBTAIN SALVATION! AMEN. BLESS US!

WHEN He Who is alone the Handicraftsman, and the Deliverer of His day, and the Storehouse Who is filled with compassion of every kind, is pleased in His lovingkindness to call to remembrance the work of His hand, He giveth to His creatures food in its season, He openeth His hand which is filled with righteousness of every kind, and He maketh the sky to pour out rain at the time that is fitting. And by these means the meadow doth become soft, and doth burst into flower, in order that all mankind may rejoice. He bringeth down upon the earth the rain in the season of rain, and the husbandman cleaveth the furrows of the meadow with the plough, and casteth the seed into them at the season of

Fol. 27<sup>a</sup> sowing. | And the grain beginneth to sprout, and the plants  
 which bear grain grow up and ripen, according to their kind. And there is very great rejoicing in all beings, for they enjoy their food, and the things whereby the body is sustained; yea, even in the beasts of the field, which are wont to leap about and spring into the air when they eat the grass and herbs in the season of spring. And the husbandmen are wont to rejoice exceedingly, because they have good hope of paying the revenue tax on their flocks and herds.

If now there is wont to be joy of this kind over the food

<sup>1</sup> Probably Valentinianus III, who reigned from 425 to 455.

that appertaineth to the body, how much greater should be the joy this day, O flock of reasoning sheep, O ye blessed Christian people, over the Blood that flowed out from the Side of God, and the Water that fell upon the earth? For it made the world new again, and it became a fountain of water which bubbleth up unto life for ever. And all mankind rejoiced, and leaped for joy, and they blossomed once again through the Water and the Blood that flowed forth out of the side of Emmanuel. And they brought forth spiritual fruits, that is to say, the virtues of the Holy Spirit. There were some who chose for themselves purity from the time when they were born into the world to the time of their departure from it. There were others who had wives, and yet they were even as if they had had none. There were some who lived the lives of ascetics from the earliest years of their childhood to the last days of their old age, and fasted most rigidly. Some withdrew themselves from the world, and departed into the mountains, and became monks, and nobly fought the battle of the ascetic life to the day of their deaths. | Others took up their crosses and followed after the Lord. They poured out their blood in their confession of God, and they received the crown of martyrdom. In short, all mankind hath blossomed and brought forth fruit with great gladness. The word which is written hath been fulfilled in this generation, 'They shall all know Thee, from the least of them even to the greatest.'<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 27 b

H2

For our Saviour and His angels, who are in our midst this day, celebrate the festival of Apa Victor the general on the day of his commemoration, which is this day. All the ranks of the angels who are in heaven gather together to us this day, and they ascribe glory unto the man who withdrew himself from the world and the possessions thereof, and took (i. e. chose) the kingdom which is perfect. The Prophets and the Martyrs are in our midst this day, and they celebrate the

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxxi. 34 ; Heb. viii. 11.

festival of him that withdrew himself from the world and the possessions thereof; the Christ loved him, and crowned him with the crown of the kingdom which is in heaven. O Saint Victor the General! O thou who wearest the martyr's crown! O thou unconquered fighter! O thou true crown-bearer of the Christ! O thou who didst make thy body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, I wish to pronounce an encomium upon thee at thy festival this day, but I am afraid that I do not possess the strength that is necessary to sail over the sea of thy splendid actions. Since my tongue is a tongue of flesh, and my heart (i.e. understanding) within me is that of a man, I am not able to describe [adequately] the glory and the honour wherewith God hath invested thee. Among all the wise men who are in the world, who was there that was ever able to describe thine honourable life completely, O Saint Victor? Thou wast a virgin from thy youngest days, and an ascetic from thy

Fol. 28 a

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childhood. | Thou didst fast two days at a time during the whole period of thy life. The door of thy house was open unto every one. For this reason I am afraid to set out upon the sea of thy virtues; I know well the haltingness of my tongue, and that my heart hath no wisdom in it. In what way is it possible for me to honour thee according to thy deserts?

Thou wast a virgin like unto Elijah, and thou didst never touch a woman. Thou wast a righteous man, and a good man, and a man of good heart towards all the poor, even like Abraham the Patriarch. Thou wast the martyr who was the mightiest of all the martyrs. Thou wast not afraid of kings and dukes and governors, nor did tortures destroy thy reasoning powers. The threats of thy father Romanus did not prevent thee from following thy true Father the Christ; nay, thou didst lay hold firmly upon the Rock which cannot be moved, the Christ, until thy latest breath. O thou who wast righteous in thy generation, who didst make thy body

a sacrifice unto God, what shall I say, or what shall I proclaim concerning thee, O Saint Victor? I compare thee unto Noe, because thou wast perfect in thy generation, as was he in his. I compare thee unto Abraham, because thou wast a lover of strangers, as was he. Now God and His angels sojourned with Abraham because of his love for strangers.<sup>1</sup> In thine own case, O Saint Victor, it was the Christ Who came unto thee, and the Son of God was in the garb of a poor man. He comforted thee in the Camp in a desert land, because of the great suffering which thou hadst endured for His Holy Name's sake. I compare thee unto Isaac the Patriarch, because in his case his father took him, though Isaac was unwilling, to offer him up as a sacrifice unto the Lord.<sup>2</sup> In thy case, however, O Saint Victor, by thine own deliberate intent and choice thou didst offer up thy body as a whole burnt-offering to the Lord, through the manifold tortures which thou didst suffer for the Name of the Christ. | I compare thee unto Jacob Fol. 28 b  
the Patriarch, because the Christ took [His] name from him. ꝛc

And as for thee, O Saint Victor, all the martyrs who are in the heavens boast themselves over thee, and all the dwellers upon the earth do likewise, because of thy patient endurance. I compare thee unto Joseph, because thou didst fight against passion, even as did he. In the case of Joseph it was his brethren who sold him into slavery, and in thy case, O Saint Victor, it was thy father who delivered thee over [into the hands of the wicked] for the sake of the Name of the Christ. Joseph obtained a kingdom [upon earth] because of his patient endurance, and thou, O Saint Victor, didst obtain a kingdom in the heavens. I compare thee unto Melchisedek and Aaron, because they offered up sheep and bulls as types (or, symbolically), whilst thou, O Saint Victor, didst thyself make thine own body to be an offering unto God. For this reason we shall obtain great glory in the kingdom of the heavens. I compare thee unto Moses the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xviii. 2 ff.<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 1.

Law-giver, because thou thyself didst reject the rank of general in this world, and the riches of thy parents, and thine own possessions, and didst take up thy Cross and follow thy Lord. Moses did not wish for men to call him the son of Pharaoh's daughter, but he chose to suffer with the people of God rather than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season.<sup>1</sup> And thou also, O Saint Victor, didst not wish for men to call thee the son of Romanus, the first in the salutation of the Emperor, and thou didst reject the honourable rank of general, | and thy riches, and didst follow Him Who said, 'Whosoever loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me.'<sup>2</sup> And thou didst grasp the generalship which endureth for ever.

Fol. 29 a  
 IIIH

I compare thee with Isaiah the Prophet, because thou thyself hast seen Him that sitteth above the Cherubim and Seraphim, and He came to thee, He delivered thee out of all thy tribulation, and gave glory unto thee in the heavens and on the earth. And He Who dwelleth in the heavens hath made thee a general among all the martyrs, even as we shall make the matter quite clear unto you, provided that [our] words can go so far. And, moreover, on the earth hath He given glory unto thee, glory so great that thy sweet odour hath filled every country in the world. And men build martyriums unto thee in every place, wherein mighty deeds and miracles take place, and men ascribe glory to God and to His holy martyr. For true is that which is written: 'Whosoever shall ascribe glory unto Me, him shall My Father honour.'<sup>3</sup> Although thou didst pass thy whole life in association with the cares of this world, yet was thy whole zeal devoted to the love of God. For this reason God hath graciously bestowed upon thee this great favour, namely, He hath conceded to thy shrine the power of healing both the soul and the body. Although thou healest the diseases of the body by means of the grace which God hath given unto thee, yet thou dost also

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xi. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. x. 37.

<sup>3</sup> John xii. 26.



cleanse the diseases of the soul, which are sins, through the signs | and the miracles which thou dost make manifest in Fol. 29<sup>b</sup>  
 thy martyrism in the four quarters of the world. O Saint **III**  
 Victor, thy blood which hath been shed hath overthrown the  
 pillar of Baal, even as did Elijah,<sup>1</sup> and thou hast destroyed  
 the idols and the pillars [thereof]. Thou hast become the  
 pillar of the whole choir of the martyrs. Thou hast quenched  
 the flame of fire by the power of God which is with thee, like  
 the Three Holy [Children].<sup>2</sup>

With what man [mentioned] in the Scriptures can I com-  
 pare thee and not find that thou art his equal, nay, we will  
 say even his superior? What shall I say concerning thee,  
 O thou healer of the sicknesses that are secret as well as  
 those that are manifest? For he hath even raised the dead  
 by means of the oil of the sanctuary of his martyrism,  
 wherein ye are assembled this day, and I have seen the  
 miracle with my own eyes, I the least [of all here present].  
 But let no man become an unbeliever concerning the miracle  
 which took place, lest there be fulfilled in him the proverb  
 which is written, 'The unbeliever is not [worth] an obolus.'  
 Harken ye then, and I will make manifest the matter unto  
 you, so that there may be glory to God and to Saint Victor,  
 whose festival we commemorate this day. Now the Saviour  
 said, 'Whosoever believeth on Me shall himself see the works  
 which I do in the Name of My Father, and he shall do things  
 which are even greater than they.'<sup>3</sup>

There was in this city a certain man whose name was  
 Alexander, and he had great possessions in gold and silver;  
 this man had a wife who was barren, and who had never  
 given birth to a child, and there was great sorrow in their  
 hearts because of this thing, | for they had no heir to inherit Fol. 30<sup>a</sup>  
 their substance. And they heard of the mighty deeds and **III**  
 miracles that took place in the martyrism of Saint Apa

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xviii. 17 ff.<sup>2</sup> Dan. iii. 26.<sup>3</sup> John xiv. 12.

Victor, and they rose up and went together to the holy shrine, and they made an offering in the martyrrium on the Lord's Day. And afterwards they made a vow, saying, 'Hear thou this day wherein we make supplication unto thee. If thou wilt come unto us, and wilt give us the seed of man, we will dedicate him to thy martyrrium to the day of his death. Only take away the cause of the reproaches which we endure, and grant unto us our petition.' And when they had said these things they departed to their house in gladness. And it came to pass on a certain day that Saint Victor made supplication to the Christ on their behalf, and the wife of Alexander gave birth to a male child, who was exceedingly beautiful to look upon, and the grace of God enveloped him, and they called his name 'Victor', naming him after Saint Victor. And there was great joy in the house of Alexander and his wife, and they distributed much alms among the poor. And when the child was five years of age the hearts of his parents would not permit them to send the child away to the shrine of Saint Apa Victor, according to the promise which had come forth from their mouths, but they went back on their vow. And they remembered not that which is written, 'Take good heed to thyself to perform the words which come forth from thy mouth, for the Lord will assuredly keep strict watch on thy ways, and will take vengeance upon thee.'<sup>1</sup> Finally, the father of the child and his mother spake together, saying, 'Behold, our hearts will not let us send the child into the shrine according to what we vowed. Let us call some man in the city who buyeth slaves, [and let him

Fol. 30 b put a value on the child,] and we will give the value to the shrine, so that the martyr may not be angry with us.' And they rose up and called a merchant in the city who bought slaves, and Alexander set before him all the slave children which he had on his estate,<sup>2</sup> and the merchant valued the

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxx. 2; Deut. xxiii. 21-3; Ps. l. 14; lxvi. 13, 14; lxxvi. 11; Eccles. v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Rendering doubtful.

child at forty *holokottinoi*. And Alexander and his wife took the gold, and gave it to the shrine of the martyr, and they did not remember that it was written, 'If thou shalt vow a vow unto the Lord thy God thou shalt pay it.'

And when Saint Victor saw that the parents of the child were not paying their vow in a right manner, and that they were thinking that the gift of God was like the other things which they were wont to obtain by money, he made the matter to work out in the way which I will describe, and they were punished for their senseless behaviour. And it came to pass on a day that the child was in the courtyard round about his father's house playing with a number of other children of the same rank and age as himself. And suddenly a large stone which was in the corner of the house dropped upon the child, who fell upon the ground and died immediately. When his parents heard of this they rent their garments, and they cried out with a loud voice, and they came rushing out with the servants, and they fell upon the child, who was dead. O what an exhibition of great grief was that which took place there at that moment! And the parents cried out, 'Woe unto us, beloved child! It is we ourselves who have been the cause of thy death; because we made a vow, and we did not fulfil our vow. We dedicated thee to the shrine of the holy man, and behold, he received thee from our hands before thou wast conceived. He hath burned up our bowels with grief for our beloved son. It is we who deserve death. What shall we do? At this moment we know not.' As for the father of the child a firm faith held him fast. He took up his little child in his | arms, and Fol. 31 a the mother and his servants followed him, and they brought Σα him into the martyrrium of Saint Victor, and he laid him down before the altar of sacrifice. And he cried out, saying, 'O Saint Victor, I know that thou hast the power to do everything, and that it was thou who didst graciously bestow

upon me this child. Act not towards me according to my senseless behaviour, but consider graciously my tears, and do thou make the soul of the child to come back into him again, and he and we together will make ourselves slaves unto thee until the day of our death.'

And when he had said these words, and he was crying as he said them, Alexander took a little oil from the lamp, and made the Sign of the Cross over the child, and he put some on his lips, and on his breast, and on his belly. And the miracle which took place straightway was greater than any miracle of Elijah and Elisha. For at the very moment when the oil of the lamp touched the child (now what [his father] said was, 'May the skin of my hand make healing to arise; return, O soul, into the child again') through the supplication of Saint Victor the child opened his eyes. Great was the joy that fell upon his parents on that day, and on all those who belonged to them, and they cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'Great art Thou, O God of Saint Victor, and there is no god besides Thee in heaven or upon earth! In the place of grief Thou hast given unto us gladness, and Thou hast raised up to his parents the child who was dead.'

And when the multitude saw the great miracle which had happened, they cried out with a loud voice, and they ran to where the child was, and they cried out, saying, 'One is  
 Fol. 31 b the God of Saint Victor!' | And the father of the child went  
 26 round about the whole city with him, and he clasped his hand and proclaimed the mighty deeds of Saint Victor. After this he went into his house, and he brought out all his possessions and his slaves, and he gave them to the shrine of Saint Victor; and he remained in the shrine and served the Saint until the day of his death. And the child became a man who was chosen of God, and he lived as a virgin all his life. He attained at length to the rank of the presbytery, and it used to be said of him that Saint Victor was wont to appear unto him, and that he saw him many times.

Verily, true is the word which our Saviour spake, 'Him who shall minister unto Me shall My Father honour.'<sup>1</sup>

See, O my beloved, how exceedingly powerful is the supplication of Saint Victor! And observe that God is wont to take vengeance upon the man who maketh a vow to Him and who payeth it not. As for us, when we make a vow to the martyr, let us fulfil it zealously in order that he may not be wroth with us. And moreover, to vow [and not to pay] is a great sin. Take thou then good heed concerning that which thou hast vowed. However, we must not tarry in our discourse. Let us now go back and tell you concerning another very great miracle which took place in the martyrdom of Saint Victor, to the glory of God and the martyr.

There was in this city a certain woman whose name was Kallieutropia, and she was the daughter of the sister of the Emperor Honorius, and she was exceedingly rich. And it came to pass one day, when she was lying down in her house about the time of noon, in a cave-like place,<sup>2</sup> at the hottest part of the day, that a certain | demon leaped into her two Fol. 32 a breasts, and they swelled up(?) and throbbed(?) violently, 30 and at the same time they shrivelled up, and became as hard as stones, and they hung down on her body; and the woman was in very great torture by day and by night. And she spent large sums of money on the physicians, but obtained from them neither relief nor healing; and she continued to suffer agonies, and her husband fell into abject despair about her. And the physicians used their utmost endeavours to work a cure upon her, the more so because she was a king's sister (*sic*), but they were powerless before the pain of the disease, according to what hath been written concerning physicians, 'Their wisdom remaineth in them.' And when the woman heard of the mighty deeds and miracles which

<sup>1</sup> John xii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a room partly underground, like the Arab and Persian *sardāb*.

were taking place in the shrine of Saint Victor, she made entreaty to her husband, and to her brother, that they would allow her to go to the shrine of the saint, for perhaps he might come to her, and graciously bestow healing upon her. And her kinsmen were persuaded by her, [for] they saw that she was in danger of dying, and they commanded that a litter wherein to carry her should be made ready, and they took her to the shrine of Saint Victor. And when she had entered into the shrine she cried out, saying, 'O my Lord Saint Victor, I entreat thee to have compassion upon me, and to remove from me these pains which I suffer, for thou art a saint of God.' And in the middle of the night Saint Victor

Fol. 32b considered the misfortune of the woman, | and he brought  
 32A unto her a cessation [of pain], and she lost consciousness; and her slave and her eunuch were close to her. And Saint Victor came unto her in a vision, and he was clad in purple, and he emitted rays of light, and there was a staff of light in his hand. And he said unto her, 'If thou wishest to be healed [do this]. When thou risest up to-morrow morning take a little of the oil which is in the lamp that burneth before the altar of sacrifice, and with it do thou smear thy breasts, and the demon shall be sore troubled, and shall come out of them, and through this these pains shall cease. But take good heed that thou dost not display arrogance towards thy slave-woman, and take good heed that thou dost not in future walk haughtily and stiffneckedly, and take good heed to stretch out thy hand to the poor. For these sufferings have come upon thee because of thine uncharitableness, and because of thy pride.'

And the woman became greatly disturbed, and she answered with fright, 'Who art thou who appearest in such a wonderful form, and surrounded with such great glory?' And he made answer in a gentle (or, sweet) voice, saying, 'I am Victor, the general of the Great King'; and when he had said these words she ceased to see him. And straightway she awoke

from her dream, and she smelled a very strong sweet smell which filled the whole martyrrium. And she said within herself, 'Verily this man who spake unto me was Saint Victor; I am a sinful woman.' And straightway she woke up her men, and told them her dream. And when the morning had come she went to the elder in the martyrrium, and he gave her a little of the oil which was in the lamp. And when she had taken it into her hand she smeared her breasts therewith, saying, 'In the Name of the | God of Saint Victor, whose glory I have been held worthy to see; do Thou graciously grant unto me healing.' And immediately the demon became terrified, and he leaped out of her breasts in the form of a gryphon, and all the people saw him, and he was like unto a flame of fire. And straightway her breasts assumed their usual shape, and she cried out, saying, 'One is the God of Saint Victor!' And she gave splendid gifts to the martyrrium, gold and very much silver, as a memorial of the healing which had taken place in her. Afterwards she went to her house to her kinsfolk, giving glory to God and to His holy martyr.

Fol. 33 a

26

And again it is necessary for us to tell you of another great miracle which took place through this holy man. And it came to pass that when the Emperor Honorius saw the healing which had taken place in his sister through Saint Victor he rejoiced exceedingly, and it pleased him to restore the apse of the altar chamber, and to decorate the woodwork of the martyrrium with fine gold, as a memorial of the glory of the saint. And he caused handicraftsmen who were masters of their craft to be brought, and they began their work of decorating the chamber of the altar of sacrifice with gold. And whilst they were working on the woodwork, the Devil, who hateth that which is good, overturned one of the workmen whilst he was at work, and he fell to the ground. And the other workmen were afraid, and they cried out, saying, 'Lord, have mercy upon us.' And the Emperor

and the other men who were below were greatly disturbed |  
 Fol. 33 b because of what had taken place. And behold, at the very  
 36 moment [when the workman began to fall], Saint Victor  
 appeared from heaven arrayed in great glory, and he laid hold  
 of the hand of the workman before he reached the ground, and  
 when he was still three cubits above it, and he held him  
 suspended there. Then he went up with him to the wood-  
 work, and set him down on his feet in front of the woodwork  
 by the side of his fellow workmen; and the workman had  
 suffered no injury in any way, and no man had seen  
 Saint Victor, with the exception of the workman. And  
 when the Emperor and the multitude had seen the mighty  
 miracle which had taken place they were afraid, and they  
 cried out, 'One is the God of Saint Victor, and besides Him  
 there is no other god, either in heaven or on the earth.'  
 And when the workman had recovered from the attack of  
 terror which had come upon him, he proclaimed to the  
 Emperor and to all the people, saying, 'I saw a huge creature<sup>1</sup>  
 with his wing[s] spread out, and his eyes were filled as it were  
 with fire, and he struck me with what he had in his hand, and  
 threw me down. And whilst I was falling down, behold  
 a man of light who was wearing the apparel worn by men of  
 royal rank, and whose face was shining like the sun, laid  
 hold of my hand before I could reach the earth: and he came  
 up with me, and brought me into this place, and he made the  
 Sign of the Cross over me, and he removed fear from me,  
 saying, "Be not thou afraid, for I am Victor, on whose  
 martyrdom thou art working." And straightway I ceased to  
 see him.'

And when the multitude had heard these things they cried  
 out, saying, 'One is the God of Saint Victor!' And thus  
 Fol. 34 a by the zeal of the God-loving Emperor, and the might | of  
 37 Saint Victor, the decoration of the woodwork in the chamber  
 of the altar of sacrifice with fine gold and its inlaying with

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'porcupine'.



very costly stones were completed. And now, O my beloved, ye see how great are the mighty deeds and wonders of Saint Victor, whose festival we are celebrating this day. And to every man who shall make supplication unto him with his whole heart, no matter what kind of sickness it is from which he is suffering, the saint will graciously bestow upon him healing.

And again, there was a certain man in this city who was a patrician [in the service] of the Emperors, and who fell ill of a certain kind of sickness which was incurable; and his whole body swelled up to such a degree that he resembled a pillar. And to see this man in such a state of wretchedness made one's heart to ache, for he lived in great tribulation, and he suffered excruciating pains, which were wellnigh unbearable. Often it would happen that thou wouldst find him sitting [on the ground], and his servant would be obliged to carry him to his house; and his feet and his [other] members would burst from time to time, and eject large quantities of unclean matter. And he gave very much money to the physicians, but gained no relief thereby. And besides this the Emperors of Rome sent the archiactors [to treat him], for he was a nobleman of high rank in the Palace, and others also used every effort to cure him, but he failed to find any relief whatsoever. And thus he continued to live, suffering these excruciating pains, until [one day] he heard of the mighty deeds and miracles which took place in the shrine of Saint Apa Victor. Then his servant lifted him up and carried him into the shrine of the holy man, and he laid him down before the altar of sacrifice, and he cried out by day and by night, 'O Saint Victor, look upon my humility and my sufferings, and graciously bestow healing upon me, for I am grievously tortured. Or let thy mercy come to me, and do thou make supplication to God on my behalf, | so that He Fol. 345 may take me out of this life [of suffering]. Behold, thou 34 seest my tribulation by day and by night.'

And he lost consciousness for a short space of time. And behold, Saint Victor gave consideration to his miserable condition, for he is a lover of mankind. And the sick man saw him in a dream apparelled in great glory, and he was wearing rich purple garments, and he was girded with a girdle of gold, and he shot forth from his person rays of light. And he said [unto the sick man] in the dream, 'Why art thou here in this condition?' And the sick man said unto him, 'Behold, thou seest my sufferings and my tribulations, and that I have drawn nigh unto death.' And the holy man said unto him with a joyful face, 'I am he who shall cure thee, for thou must know that I have the power to do everything through the grace of God which is with me.' And he stretched out the rod which was in his hand, and he laid it upon the sick man, saying, 'Healing shall come to thee this day. But do not sin again, or evil which is worse than this shall befall thee; and do not thou shew thyself haughty towards the poor.' And the sick man answered and said with trepidation, 'My lord, who art thou that appearest in this form? I have never before seen any one like unto thee, whether it be Emperor or whether it be general in the Palace.' And he answered and said unto the man, 'I am Victor, the general of the King of heaven.' And when he had said these things unto him the man ceased to feel pain, and he ejected a mass of pus which was so abundant that it overflowed and soaked all his bed; and he ceased to swell up, and became like unto a man who had never suffered from any skin disease at all. And he leaped up on his feet, and stood up, and he cried out, saying, 'One is the God of Saint Victor!' And when the multitudes who

**Fol. 35 a** were gathered together inside the martyrrium | saw the great  
 30 miracle which had been wrought, they cried out, saying, 'Blessed are we, because we are held to be worthy [to have] this pearl in our city, for he healeth our sicknesses and our diseases.' And the man gave gifts to the shrine of Saint Victor, both gold and silver, so that they might be distributed among

the poor and the destitute. And he departed to his house ascribing glory to God, and he took care for his soul unto the day of his death.

What can I say about the miracles which thou hast performed, O thou wearer of the crown of the Christ? And what tongue of flesh is there that is able to describe thy blessed estate, O thou valiant general? Verily, if I were to pass the whole of my time in going through the miracles which thou hast wrought, I should be wholly unable to recount even a very small portion of them. O thou confessor and invincible athlete, who is there that is able to comprehend the full extent of thine honourable estate, and the wonderful things that have taken place in thy martyrdom? For as it is impossible for a man to estimate the honourableness of this holy man, so also is it impossible [to declare] the mighty deeds which have gone forth from his sanctuary. O thou veritable crown-bearer of the Christ, thou youth whose wisdom vanquished that of the trained orator! O thou who didst despise a kingdom in this world in order that thou mightest receive one which was more excellent and belonged to heaven, great is the glory which God hath given unto thee both in heaven and upon the earth! |

As I have already said, the sweet odour of thee hath filled Fol. 35 b  
all the countries of the world, and men make mention of thy 5  
name in every country, from the Camp wherein thou didst  
complete thy course even to the [region of the First] Cata-  
ract. And they ascribe glory unto thee throughout the  
world, saying that thou art the greatest of the martyrs, the  
more so because God hath made the [fame of the] wonders and  
miracles to go forth from thy martyrdom into every place.  
And the wonders of healing exist for those who shall believe  
on thy name, and this selfsame gift cometh forth from thy  
martyrdom and goeth from one end of the inhabited world  
to the other. If this be not so [in your opinion], hearken and  
I will shew you that it is.

And it came to pass, they say, that in the beginning, when the God-loving Emperor Constantine built this very martyrion wherein we are assembled this day in honour of Saint Apa Victor, a certain great general fell sick of a very severe disease. Now he was sixty years of age, and he suffered great pain in his inward parts, and he was unable to sleep; and he was sick with the disease which the physicians call **καλκηνωμα**.<sup>1</sup> He had given many large sums of money to one physician after the other, without feeling any benefit from their treatment. On the contrary, he was in imminent danger of dying. Then he heard about the mighty deeds and miracles which took place in the martyrion of Saint Victor in Antioch, and he rose up and went | to Antioch. And he passed two days in the martyrion there, and did not receive healing. And on the night of the third day he felt a slight alleviation of the pain through the invincible power of God, and straightway Saint Victor came to him in a dream. He was in the form of a mighty general, and his face shot forth rays of light, and he said unto the sick general, 'If thou wishest to be made free of this disease, rise up quickly and depart to the martyrion [of Saint Victor] which is in Rome. Thou shalt drink the water which is in the vessel in the chamber of the altar of sacrifice, and thou shalt find healing. Was it because [my] martyrion which is in Rome is difficult [to reach] that thou didst come to this place? Didst thou not know that my power is in all the world, and that it is the selfsame gift of healing which is [to be obtained] in them all, by those who believe and do not halt between two opinions? Didst thou not know that this selfsame power permeateth my martyrion which is in Rome and that which is in Antioch? Why didst thou bring upon thy head the vexatious trouble of journeying over a sea of ocean to come to this place? Didst thou not know that I have the power to heal in this place? But I will not do this in this

Fol. 36 a  
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<sup>1</sup> A tumour (?), **καλκηνωμα** perhaps = *χαλκός* and *οἶδημα*.

place, and unless thou goest to my martyrium which is in Rome thou shalt [not] find healing, so that every one may know my power.' And the sick general trembling answered and said, 'My lord, who art thou who appearest in this form, | and art surrounded with such great glory?' Fol. 36 b  
And he answered and said, 'I am Victor the general. I will ob  
heal thy body. I will give salvation to thy soul.' And straightway he awoke from his dream, and he was trembling exceedingly. And he said, 'Verily this is Saint Victor, who hath come to visit me.' And straightway his heart trembled, and he said, 'Forgive me, O my lord Saint Victor, because I was careless about going to thy shrine which hath been but recently built in my city, and came to this place.' And he awoke his servants at the moment when the light was coming, and the men who had come with him, and he told them about the dream which he had seen; and then he gave great and splendid gifts to the martyrium which is in Antioch.

And after this he went up into a ship, and came to the city of Rome, and went into the martyrium of Saint Victor, and he lay down to sleep therein, being in great tribulation. And he made supplication to God and to the holy martyr, saying, 'O my lord Saint Victor, who didst consider me to be worthy of the sight of thy glory in thy martyrium, which is in Antioch, | who didst command me to come to this place, Fol. 37 a  
I believe, O my lord, that thy power goeth through the ob  
whole world, just as doth the sun which illumineth the inhabited world. Let thy mercy come upon me, and do thou graciously grant healing unto me, for I am suffering very greatly.' And when he had said these things he lay down until the evening.

And afterwards he made them bring unto him a little water in the vessel from the altar, and he drank it, even as Saint Victor had told him to do, and immediately the God of Saint Victor brought unto him a cessation of the pain,

and contrary to his usual custom he slept through the whole night. And at the hour of dawn the martyr came unto him with great glory, and he said unto him with a joyful face, 'Dost thou know me?' And the nobleman said unto him, 'Yea, my lord, I know thee. Thou art Saint Victor. It was thou who didst appear unto me in thy martyrrium at Antioch, and thou didst send me to this place.' And the saint said unto him, 'Have I not already told thee that my might filleth every place, and that it is the selfsame power which abideth continually in all my martyrriums, from [one] end of the earth to the other, and which healeth every one who shall believe [in me] without doubt or hesitation? Hast thou never heard that which is written, "Everything is possible to him that believeth?"'<sup>1</sup> And the man answered and said unto

Fol. 37<sup>b</sup> the saint, 'I do believe, my lord, | that thy power filleth every  
 52 place, but having heard concerning the mighty deeds which took place in thy martyrrium which is in Antioch, I went [there] to seek after healing for my body.' The saint said unto him, 'As it is with my martyrrium which is in Antioch, so is it with that which is in Rome, and [so is it with] all the churches in the earth which have been built in my name, from one end thereof to the other. My strength shall work in them to the very end of this age for him that shall believe in me. And I will heal [all] diseases, both those which are secret and those which are manifest, through the gracious gift which God hath given unto me, and unto all the saints. Now, therefore, behold I will bestow upon thee the gift of health of the body, but thou must pray at the same time for the health of thy soul, so that no evil may arise for thee from this [cause].' And when Saint Apa Victor had said these things to the man he hid himself from him. And the man woke up in the morning, and he found that the diseased portion of his inward parts, that is to say, the hard ulcer, had burst, and he vomited from his mouth a very large quantity

<sup>1</sup> Mark ix. 23.

of pus, and he became straightway just like one who was not diseased at all. | And he sent abroad the report of the things Fol. 38 a  
 which Saint Victor had said unto him throughout the whole OE  
 city. And from that day onwards the saint granted the gift of healing to every sick person, no matter what the sickness from which he was suffering, when he went into his shrine. And the man gave great gifts to the shrine of Saint Victor, and he went to his house, giving glory to God. In all his troubles he besought Saint Victor to be his helper, and he fasted and prayed until the day of his death.

Ye see, O my beloved, how very great and mighty are the miracles of this holy man whose festival we are keeping this day, and that these mighty deeds are worked in all his martyrdoms for those who believe. As for us, let us believe with all our hearts on the mighty works and miracles of this holy man, in order that he may make supplication on our behalf to God. For whosoever shall disbelieve in the mighty works of the saint, not only shall they be of no benefit to him, | but his unbelief shall be unto him a source of con- Fol. 38 b  
 demnation. However, let us not waste words, but let us OE  
 return [to our subject] and describe unto you the following great miracle, which took place in the shrine of Saint Ap-  
 Victor, to the glory of God and of His saint.

There was a man in this city whose name was Anastasius, and he was exceedingly rich, and he belonged to a noble family. And when this man had become very old in days, and was one hundred years old, he became sick of the disease which the physicians call elephantiasis. And his whole body dried up, and he became leprous, [as white] as the snow, and many times he felt shame before the men who looked upon him, for his body became covered all over with patches of spots like that of a leopard. And he was exceedingly grieved in heart over this matter, because he was ashamed to go into the Palace, and he did not appear in the market-place because of what had come upon him. After these things God put it

Fol. 39 a into his heart to go to the martyrrium | of Saint Apa Victor,  
 57 and to make supplication unto him so that he might cure him  
 of his disease altogether. For he used to see people who were  
 suffering from various kinds of disease, and whenever they  
 went into his martyrrium they obtained healing, and then  
 they would depart to their own houses glorifying God. In  
 this way then Anastasius rose up in faith, and he went into  
 the shrine of Saint Apa Victor with his servants and with  
 very many possessions, and he passed two days in the holy  
 place making supplication to Saint Victor to be pleased to heal  
 him of his leprosy, and he said, 'O Saint Victor, I believe  
 with my whole heart that thou art able to heal me of this my  
 leprosy. Help me, I pray thee, for I am ashamed, by reason  
 of that which hath come upon me, to let men look at me.'

And whilst he was passing these two days in the mar-  
 tyrium, behold [there came in] a man who had phlegm in his  
 eyes, and through the great quantity of granulation which  
 covered them a white film had appeared in his eyes; and he  
 had ceased to see anything by means of his own sight. All  
 the money which he had he had spent on the physicians,  
 Fol. 39 b and he remained wholly uncured. | Finally, when he heard  
 58 about the mighty deeds of Saint Victor, he made some men  
 to carry him into his martyrrium, whilst he was in great pain,  
 and they laid him on a bed which was near that of the leper.  
 And he made entreaty to the God of Saint Victor, saying,  
 'O my lord the general, have mercy upon me, and graciously  
 bestow upon me the gift of light for my eyes.' And as con-  
 cerning the miracle which took place at that time we shall  
 certainly not hold our peace. That night God, Who hearken-  
 eth unto every one that crieth out to Him in truth, was  
 pleased to heal the two men at the same time through the  
 intercession of Saint Victor, who doeth such miracles and  
 mighty deeds as these.

And it came to pass during that night, when the man who  
 had the skin disease had eaten with his servants, and had



lain down to sleep, that Saint Victor had compassion on the miserable state of the man with the skin disease and on the blind man, and he was pleased to make manifest his miracles. And he came to the man with the skin disease arrayed in great glory, and his face shone brightly, and he said unto him, 'Dost thou know who I am?' And the man answered, 'Nay, I do not, my lord.' And the saint said unto him, 'I am Victor, to whom thou didst make supplication this day. I am the father of the martyrrium. Now, therefore, if thou dost wish to be cleansed from thy skin disease, thou shalt rise up early in the morning, and shalt take hold of the hand | of this blind man who is sleeping by thy side, and Fol. 40 " thou shalt lead him down to the pool of water which is by oe the door of the martyrrium, and ye two shall dip yourselves therein three times, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Then shalt thou see my power; thy skin disease shall cease from thee, and the blind man shall see. Only take good heed not to be careless in respect of what hath been said unto thee, and thou shalt be made whole.' And when Saint Victor had said these things to the man with the skin disease, he came forth from him. Then straightway the man awoke from his dream, and he was in a confused and agitated state, and he smelt a very strong sweet smell round about his bed, and it was like unto the smell of the finest perfumed incense. And he said within himself, 'Verily this man who came unto me was Saint Victor, and he came to bestow upon me graciously the gift of being made whole'; and he rejoiced exceedingly, and blessed God. But he shut up the matter in his heart, saying, 'I will tell no one at all about the vision'; and he waited to see the end of the matter.

And when the light became stronger the man with the skin disease said unto the blind man, 'Peradventure thou wilt get up, and then we will go down to the pool and wash ourselves, for I believe by God and by His holy martyr, [that if

we do,] He will graciously bestow upon us healing.' And the blind man said to the man with the skin disease, 'Whatsoever thou wishest to do, that do, [but I cannot do this]. Behold, thou knowest the pain and tribulation which I endure. The truth is that I am afraid to wash, for the physicians ordered me not to allow water to touch my head.' Then the man with the skin disease said unto the blind man, 'Get up,

Fol. 40 b let us [go and] wash. | God hath the power to remember us,

II and He will bestow healing upon us, who now suffer.' And the blind man was persuaded by [these] words. And the man with the skin disease took hold of his hand in the midst of the whole multitude, and they went down to the lake. And having filled a large washing-bowl at the place for drawing water there, they dipped themselves in it three times, saying, 'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy martyr, Saint Victor.' And straightway the man with the skin disease gained relief, and his flesh became like unto that of a child. And as for the blind man, the white film which was in his eyes burst, and fell down into the water, and his sight was completely restored. And they cried out, saying, 'One is the God of Saint Victor, Who healeth every one by His holy power.' And the multitude who were gathered together in the martyrrium, having heard [what had happened], rushed outside at once to see the great wonders which had taken place, and they cried out, saying, 'Great are the mighty deeds of God and Saint Victor. Great is the favour which God hath worked for us, in holding us to be worthy to have thy martyrrium in our city.' Then when they had been told what had happened to them (i.e. the sick men), the man who had had the skin disease declared to them everything, and told them how Saint Victor had

Fol. 41 a spoken to him in a dream. And the report | of this miracle

III filled every place, and I myself saw it with my own eyes, I, the insignificant one, who am now addressing to you this encomium.

And the man who had had the skin disease, and the blind man, both of whom had been healed by Saint Victor, remained in his martyrdom and ministered there until the day of their death, and they gave diligent attention to the welfare of their souls. And as for the lake wherein they had washed, very many mighty works of God continued to take place therein, and they do so to this very day. So great a means of healing is it that any man who is sick, whether he be sick of the palsy, or whether he be possessed of a devil, in short, if he be suffering from any kind of sickness, immediately that he has bathed in that lake, he findeth healing; and these folk go to their houses glorifying the God of Saint Victor. What shall I say about the things which thou hast performed by thy righteous actions? Who is there among all the philosophers of the world who is able to pronounce on thee an encomium which shall adequately praise thy merits, O thou who didst make of thy body a sacrifice, which was living, and was holy, and was acceptable, and was pleasing unto God? Thou didst suffer greatly for the name of the Christ, O thou noble man, Apa Victor! Great is the glory which God gave unto thee in heaven and upon the earth. Verily the word which is written is fulfilled, 'The sufferings of a time are not worthy the glory which shall be revealed unto us.'<sup>1</sup> Great is the glory which God hath given unto thee, O holy general! So great is it that to every man who calleth upon God in thy name | when he be in trouble of any kind, there cometh speedily the Fol. 41 b help of God. And this continueth to be so even to this day, nñ for He delivereth every man who maketh supplication unto Him with his whole heart from dangers of every kind. If ye do not [believe this], hearken and I will shew you that it is indeed so.

And it came to pass that when the barbarians, who are called Saban, rose up against the country of 'Romania', now they were as many as the sands of the sea, they captured the first part (frontier?) of 'Romania', and then they made ready

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 18.

a large fleet of ships to transport them from 'Romania' to our country. And all the people, and all those men who were of senatorial rank, and all the common folk of Rome, and all those who were in the immediate districts, gathered themselves together, and they celebrated the 'Catholic Synaxis' in the shrine of Saint Victor, wherein we are at this very moment assembled. And the God-loving Emperor was there with the soldiers of his army. Now it was the festival of Saint Victor, and my Father Innocent also was there with his clergy. And when they had begun [to recite] the Communion Service with great solemnity and reverence, behold, certain letters which had been sent by the hand of the captain of the lightly armed skirmishing troops, who was called Roumentros, who had been sent by the eparch of the frontier of 'Romania', were delivered to the Emperor, and they contained the following message: 'Haste thee, make ready the army, and come to us quickly, and help us, for behold the barbarians have captured the frontier of Armenia (*sic*).'

And the Emperor was much disturbed . . . .<sup>1</sup> but his hope was fixed upon God. And when he had read the dispatch, straightway he wrote to the eparch, saying, 'Fear thou not, I will come in | the morning of the morrow, and all the Roman folk with me.' And when the captain (*veletarius*) received the dispatch, he departed. And the Emperor and all the people were gathered together into the shrine of Saint Victor, together with the Archbishop and all the clergy, and they cast themselves down before the altar of sacrifice, saying, 'O Saint Victor the general, make supplication to God on our behalf, so that He may protect our country, and so that the godless barbarians may not have dominion over it.' And then they celebrated the great 'Catholic Synaxis' with great fervour (?) until the tenth hour of the day. And the miracle that took place at that moment is one the mention

<sup>1</sup> Some words seem to be wanting here.

of which must not be omitted. And when the service was ended, and the Archbishop had pronounced the benediction of peace over the people, and they were about to depart to their homes, behold, there arrived another great captain (*veletarius*) who had been sent to the Emperor with another dispatch. Now it contained glad tidings, and there was written therein thus: 'Peace be unto thee, O God-loving Emperor! Be strong, and of good courage, for God hath fought for thee. Behold, the godless barbarians who revolted against thy sovereignty hath God destroyed with their own swords. Each one of them hath risen up against his neighbour, beginning at the second hour of this day, and they slew each other, and there is not one of them left; on the contrary, all are dead. Behold, all their harness and trappings and their horses | we have sent to thy majesty. Therefore give Fol. 42 b thyself no trouble, and do not let thy mind be disturbed, ΠΣ O thou honour of the soldiers, for it is God who fighteth on our behalf with thee. Who shall resist us?' And when the Emperor had taken this letter [in his hand], he read it out to the congregation before they departed. And they rejoiced exceedingly, and were very glad, and they knew immediately that it was Saint Victor the general who had destroyed the barbarians. Now they had begun to make supplication to him at the second hour of the day. And they all cried out with a loud voice, and they ascribed glory to the God of Saint Victor, and the barbarians have never again attempted to invade 'Romania' to this day.

Ye see, O my beloved, that the power of the holy general whose festival we are celebrating this day is great. Let us then cease from every work which is evil, and all violence, and all irregular behaviour, and all the guileful | deeds which Fol. 43 a we are in the habit of committing, and let us all make ΠΕ ourselves sons of his. Verily, O Saint Victor the general, thou makest us to rejoice and be glad this day more than those who make merry in the place wherein they drink wine,

and thou hast placed before us the table of thy holy feast which is filled with all good things. And as for us, let us reach out for them, let us taste them, so that we may rejoice and be glad. Let us remember the sufferings which our Lord suffered for us and His holy martyrs, and let us bring forth fruit to God according to what is meet, each one according to his power, one in purity, another in prayer and fasting, another in patient endurance, another in long-suffering, another in love and in [shewing] love to strangers. In short, let us never pass a moment without bearing fruit, so that we may become a well-cultivated field of God, and let us spread abroad in us the fruits of righteousness. Hearken unto the

Fol. 43 b πϛ wise man Paul | the Apostle, who saith, 'I beseech you, by the merey of God, that ye present your bodies a sacrifice, living, holy, [and] acceptable unto God.'<sup>1</sup>

How, and in what way, shall we present our bodies, O Saint Victor, unless we guard our bodies and our hearts against all kinds of deceit, and all kinds of fornication, for it is written, 'Without purity, no man shall see God.'<sup>2</sup> And let us watch our tongues so that they speak not slanderous gossip, and blaspheme not, and utter no words of wantonness and scurrility. And thou shalt teach thy hands to pray, and shalt keep them from acts of theft and violence, and thou shalt guard thy feet from wandering from the door of the house of God. And thou shalt watch thine eyes so that they lust not, and do not give a cause for offence in the part [of the church] where the women are. When thou shalt do all these things it shall happen that thou art presenting thy body unto God as a

Fol. 44 a πϛ sacrifice, even as did Saint Victor, | who rejected the world and everything which was in it because of his love towards God. Hearken unto the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, who saith, 'I beseech you, O my brethren, as strangers and sojourners to abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the things in the soul.'<sup>3</sup> Now are we not, O my beloved, mere sojourners upon

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xii. 1.<sup>2</sup> Compare Matt. v. 8; 1 John iii. 2, 3.<sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 11.

the earth? Doth not a man walk like a phantom? He gathereth together, but he knoweth not for whom he gathereth.

Since then we are indeed strangers and sojourners upon the earth, it is seemly for us to remember our everlasting habitation, that is to say, the Kingdom of God, into the which, if we keep the commandment which hath been given unto us, we shall enter happily. We were born not to become inheritors of the earth, but to make earth inherit it (i. e. the Kingdom); for the house of every man is the earth. Inasmuch as when we come into the world we weep, so also when we depart we weep; | when we come into it we heave a sigh, Fol. 44 b and when we depart we heave a sigh. III Inasmuch then as from the very first moment in which man is born into this world he weepeth, even so also when he cometh forth from the body he weepeth; he is born with suffering, [and] departeth with suffering. For there is nothing which ruleth the life of a man except misery and sorrow. Hast thou not heard that which is written, ‘Let not your heart be heavy through satiety, and drunkenness, and the anxieties of life, because that day shall come upon you like a snare; for it shall come upon every one who dwelleth upon the face of the earth?’<sup>1</sup> whether he be king, or governor, or rich man, or poor man. No man whatsoever shall escape from that awful necessity, which is full of fear. And again, have ye not heard that which is written, ‘Possessions shall profit nothing in the day of wrath; it is righteousness [only] that delivereth a man from death?’<sup>2</sup> Set not thine affections on worldly possessions, or on the pomp of riches. Bind not thy soul to dominion and power, or to gold or silver, for all these things afterwards become fetters to thee; for possessions have no quality which will make them to remain in this world, but sins will precede us, and will take their stand at the throne of God. Hast thou never heard what our Lord spake, ‘Watch, for ye know

<sup>1</sup> Luke xxi, 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. x. 2; xi. 4.

neither the day nor the hour?'<sup>1</sup> Let us therefore watch by day and by night so that we may not let our bodies be without God for one moment. |

Fol. 45a

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And moreover, we do not know when they will seek after us. Let us not bind ourselves to the phantoms of wealth, for thou knowest not when it shall be demanded from thee. Hast thou not heard what is written, 'A man shall not redeem a man, and a brother shall not release a brother; he shall not give [himself] to God in exchange for him as the price of the redemption of his soul?'<sup>2</sup> This informeth [us] that a righteous father cannot obtain the release of a sinful son, nor a rich brother obtain the release of a poor brother, nor a righteous son obtain the release of a sinful father; but every man shall receive according to what he hath done.

Now therefore, O my beloved, distribute your riches and possessions in alms and oblations to the poor, in order that ye may obtain the happiness which shall be without end. Put not your confidence in the riches of this world, and do not place any reliance on gold or on silver. Hast thou never hearkened unto Solomon, who saith, 'I hate all the labour for which I had suffered under the sun, because I am obliged to leave it to the man who shall come after me?'<sup>3</sup> Now the meaning of these words is that the senseless man saith in his soul, With pain and difficulty I gather together [possessions] for my children, in order that they may find means whereby to live after my death. O thou fool, where dost thou obtain

Fol. 45b

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the knowledge | that thy son shall live after thee and inherit thy possessions, or that he shall live a very long time and spend them all? Shall not God take care of thy son without thy help? Is it not God Who brought thee up, and shall He not also bring up thy son? In the day on which thou wast brought into the world, was not an obolus also made with thee?

<sup>1</sup> Compare Matt. xxiv. 42; xxv. 13; Mark xiii. 35; Luke xxi. 36; Acts xx. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ps. xlix. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. ii. 18.



Now, therefore, hath God graciously given unto thee the large amount of wealth which thou hast in order that thou mayest rest and enjoy thyself in this world and in the next. But Satan hath shut thy heart, and doth not allow thee to be generous towards the poor; because of this thou shalt receive great and never-ending punishments—because of thine unbelief. For we see very many rich men gathering together possessions with great toil and suffering, and merchants building large houses for themselves, and [collecting] possessions and substance in abundance, and gardens, and fields, and large numbers of cattle, and great quantities of household stuff, and very large sums of money, and they say that they are laying up a store for their children. And whilst they have such thoughts as these in their minds, their children are snatched out of their hands whilst they are babies, and strangers reap the benefit of their labours, and they themselves depart to the throne of God being naked. They have not | sent on one good work before them, neither is Fol. 46 v there any gift in their hands, and they curse the day in which ¶ they were born into the world. Say not in thy blindness of heart, ‘When I am about to go forth from the body, I will write my will so that my children and my kinsfolk may give alms on behalf of my soul.’ O thou senseless one, thou very great fool, dost thou not know that when thou shalt go forth from the body, thou wilt not be like even unto the man who is lord of one obolus? and moreover, no man will ever remember thee again. Thou wilt not have with thee the money which thou hast heaped up. Thou wilt not have with thee the granary which is full of grain. Thou wilt not have with thee thy vineyards. Thou wilt not have with thee the houses which thou hast built. Nay, thou wilt be a stranger unto them all. They will have ceased to be thine, and will have become things which belong to others. If they wish they will give to thee; if they wish not they will not give to thee.

Hast thou never hearkened unto the holy man Job, saying, 'When I came out of my mother's womb I was naked, and I will depart naked.'<sup>1</sup> Also the Apostle crieth out, saying, 'We brought nothing with us into this world, and we shall take nothing [with us when] we depart.'<sup>2</sup> And David saith, 'When their spirit cometh out of them they return to their earth.'<sup>3</sup> O wretched man, how and in what way art thou benefited by all these cares and all these anxieties? Now, thou dost know the place where thou wast born, but thou dost not know the place where thou wilt die. Thou knowest how many years thou hast lived up to this present time, but thou hast no knowledge of how many thou hast yet to live. Thou knowest in what way thy parents who begat thee died, [but thou dost not] know in what manner thou wilt die.

Fol. 46 b

¶<sup>(sic)</sup>

Now, therefore, O man, | take advice, and let my counsel be pleasing unto thee. Do thou redeem thy sins by charity, and thy lawlessness by gifts of alms to the poor, in order that thou mayest have enjoyment in the riches which do not come to an end. Send on gifts in front of thee before thou dost go forth from the body, so that thou mayest depart to meet the Christ with joy. For when a man is about to meet a king of this world, and he would find favour before him, he sends all gifts on before him, so that the king may receive his person. How much more is it meet for us to send on before us gifts and alms to the King of the Universe, who is surrounded by terror and trembling. Solomon said, 'Cast all thy possessions before thee. Give alms according as thou hast the power. Say thou not, I have nothing to give.'<sup>4</sup> Remember the poor widow woman who cast the two mites into the treasury, and the Christ justified her, saying, 'She hath given all her means of living.'<sup>5</sup> And again He said, 'Whosoever shall give one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name

<sup>1</sup> Job i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. civ. 29; cxlvi. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Prov. iii. 27, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Luke xxi. 4.

of a disciple, Amen I say unto you, that he shall in no wise lose his wage.'<sup>1</sup>

Be not thou careless of thy salvation, O man, because of the material things of this life, for they will not assist (?) us in this world to the [end]. But there is a [worse] evil that can be, namely, when we have come forth [from this world], we may become as if we had never entered into it.<sup>2</sup> | Remember Fol. 47 a  
 thou the hour wherein the sickness of death shall come upon ¶  
 thee. Thou shalt cast thyself down on thy bed, and thou shalt say, 'I am sick this day.' After a very short interval the sickness shall become more severe on thee, and a violent fever shall lay hold upon the wretched flesh of thy body, and such excruciating pains and sufferings shall seize thee that thy normal condition of mind and body shall be disturbed. And thy tongue shall shrink to nothing in thy throat, and thy words shall dwindle in thy mouth, and thy throat shall close up, and no nourishment whatsoever shall be able to pass through it. And the light in thine eyes shall become less and less, and the sweat shall break out and cover thy face, and very great and bitter bile shall fill thy body, and the treatment of thine eyes by the physician shall cease to be effective, for they shall turn round, and become crooked, and little by little they shall become blind to the light. And thou shalt ask those who come to visit thee, saying, 'What time is it?' for thy perception of things shall cease within thee. For darkness and mistiness shall cover over thine eyes, and thy face shall change its colour and become greenish-grey, and thy hair shall perish, and the veins, and tendons, and sinews of thy hands and feet shall dry up, and thy heart and thy soul shall lose their strength by imperceptible degrees. And thou shalt gaze out of thine eyes and shalt see the Powers with frightful faces which have come for thee, and they shall make haste to carry thee to Him that created thee. And when

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 42 ; Mark ix. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Rendering doubtful.

thou shalt see them thou shalt open thy mouth, and thou shalt deliver up thy spirit into the hands of him that shall come for thee. O what a marvellous thing is this! O how terrible is this necessity, which is more awful than any other necessity that is upon the earth! O how terrible is this tribulation, which is the greatest of all tribulations, and which is more fearful than death itself! And finally they will take

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thy soul, and will set it before the awful throne of God, | and it shall receive according to what it hath done, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.

O Paul, thou wise man of the Apostles, thy words are exceedingly sweet! For when all the men whom God hath created, from Adam, the first man, to the man who is begotten this day, shall go forth from the body, their souls shall be taken and shall be set before the throne of God, whether they be the souls of children months old, or whether they be the souls of those who are years old, and they shall do homage to the Righteous Judge, and He shall pass sentence upon them before they are removed to the places of which they are worthy. And again, in the Day of the Resurrection, their souls shall rise, having suffered not destruction, and the soul of every one shall return to his body, and they shall all receive according to what they have done, whether it be good, or whether it be evil. And we shall be examined and questioned concerning everything which we have done in this place of sojourning, even to the slightest word which we have uttered in jest. And we shall be questioned, moreover, concerning the thoughts which have passed through our hearts, according to that which our Master Craftsman the Christ spake, saying, 'Let not any light, silly speech issue from your mouths, for ye shall be obliged to give an account concerning them in the Day of the Judgement.'<sup>1</sup> Blessed shall they be who shall rise up in the Resurrection of Life, for they shall reign as kings with the Christ! Woe be unto

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 36.

those who shall be condemned to die a second time because of their evil deeds! When the Righteous Judge hath ascended the throne, what He hath brought (?) shall be reckoned up (?). The tares shall be burned up in the fire which cannot be extinguished, but the wheat shall be gathered together into His granary, that is to say, into the kingdom which is in the heavens. |

Now, therefore, let us turn ourselves, and let us repent of Fol. 48 a  
our sins before inquisition shall be made of us concerning ¶  
them. Remember that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.<sup>1</sup> Shew me what all these pains (?)<sup>2</sup> and all these sufferings are worth. Are not three cubits of earth [the length] of our everlasting abode? Whom wilt thou gather together [therein]? To whom wilt thou act as an usurer? Whom wilt thou ill-treat? Shew me who will send these things down unto thee in Amente? Remember that thou art not like unto thy Lord, but that thou hast been sent to live upon the earth for one day only, and that thou art like unto a hireling, who is hired daily. And whether thou eatest, or whether thou drinkest, or whether thou fastest, or whether thou art hungry, or whether thou art thirsty, the sun will set every day, and the period of thy life will become less day by day. And when the number of thy days shall be fulfilled, there shall not be added to thee a single hour. Man is absolutely a thing of naught. He is a man to-day, to-morrow he is dust and ashes. Man is a creature who eateth and drinketh this day, but to-morrow his mouth is closed. He who eateth at this moment, and who batheth in the bath, and who anointeth himself this day with sweet-smelling unguents of the finest quality, is to-morrow rolled into the tomb, wherein dust taketh the place to him of sweet-smelling unguents. He who to-day sleepeth on the roof (or, verandah) of his house clothed in garments of byssus is to-morrow cast forth into the tomb among the dead animals,

<sup>1</sup> Heb. x. 31.

<sup>2</sup> **σολαια** is found again on p. 81, l. 19.

which surround him with their bodies, and he is left in a state of misery.

O miserable man, eating and drinking shall not deliver thee this day. Why will not the possessions of riches deliver thee, | and work healing to a small degree on thee? Why  
 Fol. 48 b  $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{U}}$  (sic) will not the phantoms of riches deliver thee from these great necessities? Hast thou never heard about this foolish rich man, who was like thyself, and who said within himself, 'Thou hast many good things laid up for thee for very many years to come; take thine ease, eat, drink, make merry?'<sup>1</sup> for he thought that he would pass a very long time upon the earth. But the sentence of God came upon him straightway, saying, 'Thou fool, thy soul shall be taken away from thee this very night, and these things which thou hast prepared, unto whom shall they belong?' And this is the case of every one who gathereth in, and who is not a rich man in God. How then, O thou fool, are not thy granaries, which are filled full, unable to deliver thee this day? Why do not thy garments made wholly of silk and byssus deliver thee this day? Why do not the possessions which thou hast gathered together restrain the sentence of God which hath come upon thee saying, 'They shall take away thy soul this night'? Hast thou never heard [the words] which David [spake], 'They shall leave their riches unto others, and their tombs shall be their houses for ever.'<sup>2</sup> The wise man Solomon spake, saying, 'Leave all thy property behind thee, for there is neither knowledge nor understanding in Amente,<sup>3</sup> the place whereunto thou shalt depart'; that is to say, 'When thou shalt go forth from this world, thou wilt not have the power to order anything rightly, nay, those things which thou wouldst take with thee are the very things on account of which thou shalt be judged.' Shew me  
 Fol. 49 a therefore, O thou fool, what all these pains (?),<sup>4</sup> | and [all]

<sup>1</sup> Luke xii. 19 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xlix. 10, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. ix. 10.

<sup>4</sup>  $\alpha\omicron\lambda\mu\epsilon\varsigma$  is found again on p. 80, l. 2.

these sins [are worth], for thou addest sin to sin, and lawlessness to lawlessness, and guile to guile, and strife to strife. Dost thou not remember that which is written, 'The judgement is merciless for the man who hath not shewn mercy,'<sup>1</sup> and 'Remember that man is like unto a shadow, and that he bringeth his days to a close very speedily'?<sup>2</sup>

Now the whole life of a man is like unto the vapour<sup>3</sup> of a caldron(?) which maketh itself visible for a little time, and afterwards perisheth; and this is especially true in the case of the man who is a sinner. There is no profit whatsoever in the life of the man who worketh evil, nor, moreover, shall he be found in the place whereto he shall depart, but he shall go forth with the sufferings that are sufferings indeed. And if the rich man be a sinner, that fact shall be of no benefit to him. Hast thou never heard [the words] which Solomon [spake], saying, 'He who hath come forth in vanity, shall also depart again in vanity; he who hath come forth in grief, shall depart again in grief,'<sup>4</sup> even as it is written, 'There shall be no joy to the wicked man, saith the Lord.'<sup>5</sup> And again, 'The hope of the wicked man shall perish.'<sup>6</sup> And again, 'The wicked man shall be like unto the dust which the wind driveth along before it on the face of the ground.'<sup>7</sup>

Shew me now, O sinner, what kind of pleasure is it which cometh to thee during thy whole life? If thou sayest, 'I have been a rich man all my life, and I have passed my time as one, and I have enjoyed myself thoroughly well,' then I shall say unto thee very gravely, 'What kind of pleasure was it that came to thee during all the time wherein thou wast living in sin?' If thou art rich in gold and in silver, what advantage hast thou therein, for thou wast produced from the earth? Verily, such a man eateth and drinketh to-day, but to-morrow he is carried off in the midst of his riches, and his

<sup>1</sup> Jas. ii. 13.<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxliv. 4.<sup>3</sup> Read πᾶρος (?)<sup>4</sup> Eccles. vi. 4.<sup>5</sup> Isa. xlvi. 22.<sup>6</sup> Prov. xi. 7.<sup>7</sup> Compare Job xxi. 18; Ps. i. 4; Hos. xiii. 3.

mouth is closed, and from this time onwards he will never eat again. |

Fol. 49 b

¶

Shew me, O sinful man, what kind of rest it is which thou findest. Thou dost occupy thyself all thy time in lending money at usury, and in trafficking in merchandise. Thou art filled with anxious care by day and by night, even as is the man who lacketh bread, and there is nothing about thee which affordeth thee comfort (or, consolation); on the contrary, thy whole life is one long grief. Thou buildest houses, and stalls for sheep and cattle, and baths, thou plantest vineyards, thou becomest a merchant, and sailest the seas with thy wares, and yet thou art at all times like unto the man who is in his death agony. Thou dost oppress the poor, and dost deceive the stranger, and dost rob the houses of widows, and amusest thyself by day and by night, and yet the bread which thou eatest is like that of every other man. And whilst thou art occupied in doing these things the period of thy life which is appointed unto thee cometh to an end, and thou art rejected, like a sour grape, and they bear thee away. And the possessions which thou hast heaped together shall remain on this earth, and the sins which thou hast committed shall go before thee to the throne of God. And the images shall provide the proofs of thy folly, and the houses which thou hast built others shall dwell in. And as for thy soul, because of thy lawless behaviour they shall carry it away into the outer darkness. From the vineyards which thou hast planted others shall gather in the grapes, and thou thyself in Amente shalt eagerly desire that the juice thereof be dropped upon thy tongue to cool it, even like thy brother Nineveh (?).

Shew me now, O thou man who art merciless and a sinner, what advantage there was to thee in thy being born into the world, whether in thy life, or whether in thy death, unless it was the punishments which thou didst heap up on account of thy sins? In thy lifetime thou didst amuse thyself by day and by night, and thou wast weary because of the multitude



of thy possessions, and at thy death thou didst depart to the punishment which is never-ending, in exchange for thy wickedness. Moreover, | if the sinner be a poor man, thou Fol. 50 a wilt find that he worketh both by day and by night because ¶ of the insistence of his poverty. And thou wilt find his son hungry and naked, and his wife sick and afflicted with the suffering of infirmity, and thou wilt find them quarrelling and cursing each other, and there is no peace at all between them. They are occupied by day and by night, they live in tribulation with their children. And the man longeth for death a thousand times over because of the suffering which is inside him. He seeth the poverty and suffering of his wife, and the misery of his children, and he committeth sin yet more and more, and he committeth thefts, and sweareth false oaths, even as it is written, 'Poverty humbleth a man.'<sup>1</sup> And not only doth it reduce him to humility, but it maketh him to commit fraudulent acts, and works which God hateth, for he wisheth to take home something to his wife and his children. In this manner he never ceaseth to be absorbed with the cares of this life all his days. He addeth sin to sin, and he spendeth his life in doing this until the appointed span of his life cometh to an end. Then he is carried away suddenly, heavily laden with the load of his sins, and he cometh forth into poverty, a poverty which is never-ending, and into great suffering. Shew me now what kind of benefit it is to a man of this kind to be born into the world, for there is nothing in it but suffering, and wretchedness, and sorrow. It was concerning such a man that were written the words, 'He who hath come in emptiness (or, vanity) shall depart in emptiness (or, vanity), and his name shall be proclaimed in the darkness,'<sup>2</sup> whether he be rich or poor. Woe be unto those who are born into the world, for the deceitful deeds (?) which they have done in the world shall be a punishment for them. What comfort (or, consolation) shall

<sup>1</sup> Compare Prov. x. 15.<sup>2</sup> Eccles. vi. 4.

there be to the man who shall die in his sins? There is nothing for him except suffering and sorrow in this world

Pol. 50 b and in the next. | Hast thou not heard what is written in the

¶ [Book of] Isaiah the prophet, 'The sinner that shall live for one hundred years shall be accursed?'<sup>1</sup>

But tell me, O thou man of sin, when it was that thou didst enjoy thyself. Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself in thy mother's womb? If so, what kind of enjoyment hadst thou? Thou wast shut up in the darkness and in the humour of her body, and thou didst not know when it was day, or when it was night. Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself when thou camest forth from thy mother's womb? If thou didst, what kind of enjoyment hadst thou? For from the moment wherein thou wast brought forth thou didst cry and wail. Hadst thou been comfortable thou wouldst not have wept, for weeping belongeth to suffering and pain. Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself when thou wast being suckled at the breasts of thy mother? If thou didst, what kind of enjoyment was it? Thou didst weep at all times, and thou hadst no heart. Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself when thou wast a small child? If thou didst, what kind of enjoyment was it? Thy face was cast down at all times to the earth, thou didst crawl about on thy hands and feet, thy mouth was always wet with the saliva which trickled from it, and when a beast might have attacked thee and killed thee thou wast ignorant of it. Didst thou, peradventure, rejoice when thy legs gained firmness, and thou couldst walk? If thou didst, what kind of enjoyment was it? Thy parents taught thee [first], and then they sent thee to the master craftsman that he might teach thee a trade whereby thou mightest earn a living. Didst thou, peradventure, rejoice when thou didst grow up and arrive at man's estate? If thou didst, what kind of enjoyment was it? The lust of early manhood which was in thee was fighting

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lxxv. 20.

against thee, and never for one moment did it cease to goad thee. Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself when thou didst take a wife? Nay, nay, thou couldst not enjoy thyself, for thou didst burden thyself with heavy cares. Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself when thou didst beget children? If thou didst, | what kind of enjoyment was it? Thou didst Fol. 51 v load thyself with cares both by day and by night. For the ¶ man who hath married a wife and hath begotten children hath never a moment's peace; on the contrary, his head is always burdened with cares, especially if he be a poor man, for then his tribulations are doubled.<sup>1</sup>

Didst thou, peradventure, enjoy thyself when thou didst become an old man? If thou didst, what kind of enjoyment was it? Thy bones became broken, the light of thine eyes was extinguished, thy teeth became loose and incapable of chewing food, thy heart ceased to have perception and to understand a word of wisdom, thy nerves, sinews, and tendons of the body failed, and ceased to be able to work without difficulty. Thy mouth lost its shape and was unable to utter words distinctly, thy voice became feeble, and the ears lost their power to hear. All these things came upon thee in thine old age, but more especially there came great tribulation of heart, because thou wast drawing nigh to the grave, and thou knewest not how long men would enquire after thee. Wilt thou, peradventure, rejoice when the span of life that hath been allotted to thee hath come to an end, when thou must go before God? What kind of enjoyment wilt thou have when that moment cometh? Thou wilt cast thyself down upon [thy] bed in thy tribulation of heart, a great wave of heat will envelop thee, and the attack of sickness will become more violent, and thou wilt heave sighs over thy sins, because thou hast no good deeds to thy credit. Thou wilt weep for thy little children who shall become orphans,

<sup>1</sup> With this paragraph compare Athanasius 'On the Soul and Body' (Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, pp. 264, 265).

and thou wilt be greatly disturbed because of the calamity that hath come upon thee. Thou wilt look at the Powers with terrifying faces which have come after thee, and thou wilt sigh over the end of thy life, because it hath drawn nigh so speedily. Peradventure thou wilt rejoice, O man, when thou standest before the throne of God? What kind of enjoyment wilt thou have [there] being laden with thy load

Fol. 51<sup>b</sup> of sins | and having not one good deed before thee?

**¶** And the avenging angels (or, executioners) shall seize thy soul, the flames of fire shooting out from their eyes, and shall cast thee down, and shall gnash their teeth at thee; and thy sins shall follow thee closely, and shall be thy accusers. Whither wilt thou turn thy face, O wretched man? What manner of place wilt thou look for in order to find rest therein? Thou shalt find it neither on the right hand nor on the left. Behold the poor whom thou hast wronged! Behold those who were in misery, and the strangers, whom thou didst defraud and eat up what goods they had! Behold the false oaths! Behold the slanderings! Behold the hatred! Behold the envy! Behold the contentions! Behold the impurities! Behold the pollutions! Behold the fornications! Behold the murders, and all the rest of the evil deeds which thou hast committed! Then, at that moment, the Judge shall cry out, 'Cast him into the outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.'<sup>1</sup>

This is the end of all the men who are sinners, and who have not repented of their sins before their deaths. Behold, I have made the matter quite clear to you, and have shewn you that there is no profit in the life of man who is born into this world. If thou wishest for salvation, and wouldst inherit life, haste thee and redeem thy sins by means of acts of charity and by works of compassion to the poor, so that thou mayest enjoy thyself in the world wherein there are joy and gladness. And even if thou hast committed every

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 42; xxv. 30.

kind of sin, turn thou back and repent, and God shall forgive thee, for He is compassionate, and He loveth mankind, and sheweth pity for the wickednesses of those who return unto Him. | For He saith, 'I do not desire the death of the sinner, but rather that he should turn back from his evil way, and repent and live.'<sup>1</sup> And again [He saith], 'If the transgressor hath turned back from his wickedness, and doeth righteousness, I will no longer remember the wickednesses which he hath committed, but he shall live through the righteousness which he hath done.'<sup>2</sup> [And He saith], 'Turn ye back to Me, O ye children who have gone afar off, and I will heal you of your wounds.'<sup>3</sup> [And] He saith by His mouth which is full of life, 'I have not come to invite the righteous, but the sinners to repentance.'<sup>4</sup> And again, 'Come unto Me every one who is suffering, and is laden, and I will give rest to you.'<sup>5</sup>

Fol. 52 a

P

Thus thou mayest see, O man, the love for man which God [sheweth] towards us. Finally, waste not day after day, month after month, and year after year, for the span of life which hath been allotted to thee is coming to an end, and thou must depart, laden with the load of thy sins, and thou wilt curse the day wherein thou wast born. I have declared all these things out of love for you, and because of the verse which is written, 'Man is born unto trouble.'<sup>6</sup> Now it was because the prophet thought that there was no profit in a man's life, but only suffering and misery, that he said, 'Man is born unto trouble, and his days pass quickly.'

Now as concerning the righteous, their whole life is joy and gladness, and since they have been born unto blessedness, they shall also depart to the blessedness which is perfect. Verily, happy and blessed is the righteous man who is born into the world! In very truth this is the man unto whom

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xviii. 23; xxxiii. 11.<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xviii. 27.<sup>3</sup> Jer. iii. 22; xxx. 17.<sup>4</sup> Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17; Luke v. 32.<sup>5</sup> Matt. xi. 28.<sup>6</sup> Job v. 7.

the building which he hath made in [this] world shall be  
 Fol. 52 <sup>b</sup> for profit. Blessed is the man who is righteous | and  
 pa merciful, for he shall eat of the good things of the earth,  
 and he shall enjoy refreshing in the kingdom that is in  
 the heavens with the Patriarchs Abraham, and Isaac, and  
 Jacob, and Job, and the other believing men. And blessed  
 is the poor man who giveth thanks, and who is meek and  
 gentle, for he shall go forth from the poverty of this world,  
 and shall receive riches which are never-ending. In very  
 truth this is the man whose sorrows shall come to an end,  
 and who shall inherit the rest that shall never end, even  
 as it is written, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for to them  
 belongeth the kingdom which is in the heavens.'<sup>1</sup> And  
 again, 'Blessed is the man whom Thou shalt receive to Thy-  
 self, O Lord.'<sup>2</sup> And again, 'Better is one day inside Thy  
 courts than one thousand [passed] outside them.'<sup>3</sup>

Behold now, we say these things unto you, O my beloved,  
 for the admonition of the soul, and I have made my discourse  
 somewhat lengthy. I know, however, that the tears which  
 have come forth from your eyes shall become unto you a  
 fountain of salvation, which shall cleanse your bodies on the  
 day of the great festival of Saint Victor the General, whose  
 festival we are celebrating this day. Believe me, O ye God-  
 loving congregation, I have no wish to set in motion this  
 word which is full of tribulation, during this great festival  
 this day, and I would not introduce sadness into the festival  
 of Saint Victor, the most glorious of all martyrs, had it not  
 been that my mind was carried away by my thoughts, and it  
 seemed to me as if I saw the General standing before me.  
 And he raised up gladness in my heart and in my mind, in  
 his love towards us, and he spake unto me, saying, 'O man,  
 speak unto this congregation for the salvation of their souls.  
 Fol. 53 <sup>a</sup> Thou shalt bring them into | the haven of salvation on the  
 pb day of my commemoration, and they shall repent them of their

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 3.<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxv. 4.<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxxiv. 10.

sins. This result will afford me far greater happiness than ten thousand encomiums. And I do not wish [to receive] the honour which belongeth to this world, for my justification is in the heavens, before my Lord and my King, the Christ.'

And when I had heard these [words] from Saint Victor, [and saw] the care which he took for all those who are heavy laden, and that he was laying aside his own honour for the sake of the salvation and well-being of our souls and our bodies, I at length turned my tongue towards you, O my sons and my daughters, and I spake these few words to you for the welfare of your souls. Now, therefore, let us send on before us the things which we find for the benefit of our souls in the day of need, so that Saint Victor, whose festival we are celebrating this day, may make supplication on our behalf before the Christ, the True Shepherd, that He may guide our souls into the pasture that pleaseth Him, according to that which is written, 'His counsel is more to be chosen than gold, and the precious stone of very great price.'<sup>1</sup> 'Let us pay good heed to the things that we hear, lest we fall away,'<sup>2</sup> according to the word of Paul, the wise man. Let us free ourselves from our sins, before they be required of us.

And if, O man, thou hast sinned through thoughtlessness, turn thee, repent, and God shall forgive thee. And again, if thou hast not committed sin, take good heed to thyself that the Devil be not envious of thee, for he is a deceitful villain, and he hateth the race of man. Thou hearest what is written in the Catholic [Epistle], 'Be sober, watch; for your adversary the Devil [goeth round about roaring like a lion, seeking to swallow up your soul.]'<sup>3</sup> And again, Paul saith, Fol. 53 b  
p<sup>a</sup>  
 'Our strife is not against blood and flesh, but against principalities and powers, and against the governors of the world in darkness, and against spirit beings of evil beneath the heavens.'<sup>4</sup> And again, our Saviour commanded us, saying,

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xix. 10; Prov. viii. 10, 11, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. v. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. vi. 12.

'If the master of the house knew at what hour the thief was coming he would keep watch, and would not permit him to break into his house; even so do ye yourselves watch, for ye know not in what hour the thief will come.'<sup>1</sup>

Now ye know well, O my beloved, that it is right for a man to keep watch by day and by night, so that the Devil may not be envious of him, and may not destroy his righteousness. Do not make a pretence and say, 'I have committed many sins, and God will never forgive me, even if I do repent.' Take heed to thyself and do not talk in this way. Never let sin gain dominion over thee. And even if thou hast committed a multitude of sins, turn thee, repent, and God shall forgive thee, and He will number thee with those who have never committed sin at all. For as thou findest the grapes full of sourness which come from an [uncultivated] vine, but when the vine hath been digged about, and water poured upon its roots, the grapes, which only a very little time before had been sour (now their sourness disappeareth so completely that thou canst not possibly imagine whither it hath gone), become sweet to the taste, exactly so it is in the case of the sin which hath been blotted out by repentance, and the righteousness which is performed by the penitent man continueth to be sweet.

Fol. 54 a    Ye see, O my beloved, | how Saint Victor rejoiceth with us  
 p<sup>2</sup> on this great festival, which we celebrate this day, and how he hath prepared for us the table of the Spirit. Verily, this holy encomium is a healing medicine for us. The understanding of the Holy Scriptures is a consolation to us. This encomium is a healer of every one, for it strengtheneth those who do stand, and it raiseth up those who have fallen. And as for us, let us keep carefully the things which we have heard, and we shall find salvation. We must never let go of our understanding (or, courage), and persist in committing sins which will lead us into a state of terror, and make us

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 42, 43; Mark xiii. 35; Luke xxi. 36.



enter into sorrow and shame. But within a very little I also had fallen into a pit, and had forgotten the mighty deeds and miracles of Saint Victor, whose festival we are celebrating this day; for the consideration of our own great carelessness carried us away into such sorrow of heart that we forgot the glorious General Victor. And, moreover, my tongue halteth to such a degree that I am not able to declare one of his ten thousand virtues. But like a man who setteth out boldly to cross over a great sea, or a very wide stream, and whom before the end of his journey thou findest to be overwhelmed and being drawn down into the boiling and raging waters of the torrent—even so am I in respect of the splendid deeds of that General Victor. For I began to speak to you concerning the mighty deeds and miracles which he hath wrought in the first part of [this] Encomium, but later on my understanding and my thought were carried away and made me to talk to you about the salvation of your souls on [the day of] his great festival. And we know that Saint Victor will rejoice over the words of admonition which we are speaking into instructed ears in this Encomium, especially when he hath seen the very large number of people [here] who are stricken with sorrow, and who are weeping at the words of admonition which we are uttering. |

I am afraid, however, that I am causing some offence to Fol. 54 b  
my congregation on this great festival to-day. I will there- p̄c  
fore change the course of my remarks so that I may narrate  
unto you a few of the mighty deeds which have taken place  
in his martyrdom, the which I have seen with my own eyes,  
and which will glorify God, Who glorifieth those who glorify  
Him. Now I earnestly desire to declare a few of his splendid  
deeds, but I find myself in a difficulty because my tongue is  
incapable of paying unto him the honour of which he is  
worthy. And, moreover, since certain of our inspired Fathers  
and Bishops who have lived before my time, that is to say,  
Eusebius, and Julius, and Innocent, who were teachers in

very truth and were inspired by God, undertook to declare thy honour and the miracles which thou didst perform in thy martyrdom, and were unable to proclaim thy powers and the signs [wrought by thee], how much less shall I, a humble man, who am simple and foolish withal, be able to do so? How can I possibly pass over the sea of thy splendid deeds? For this reason I lay my finger on my mouth: I do not know how to declare thy gift of healing, and especially because through thy holy gift the disease which spreadeth over my legs and feet from time to time thou hast made to decrease in my body. But great is the grace which God giveth unto thee, and He hath permitted these manifestations of healing to be permanent in thy martyrdom, that is to say, the dumb speak, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and thou castest out devils and raisest the dead through the mighty gift which God hath permitted to be permanent in thy martyrdom. And not only in the place wherein thy body

Fol. 55 a is are signs of this kind taking place, | but in every shrine  
 ꝑ throughout the world which shall be called after thy name shall signs of this kind be performed perpetually, in order that ye may know that what I am saying to you is true. Harken ye now, and I will narrate unto you the following great miracle to the glory of God and Saint Victor.

There was a certain man in this city who owned very great possessions, and large flocks and herds, and sheep pastures and vineyards. And this man was exceedingly good and kind to the poor, and he had such a firm belief in Saint Victor that every year he used to give a large quantity of wine to the shrine [of the saint] for use sacramentally, and for sending out as gifts to those who were suffering from illnesses, and to those who needed it, for the salvation of their souls. And his offering remained always in the shrine of the holy man during the whole course of his life. And the Good God, at the request of Saint Victor, blessed the man, and he became rich, and he waxed exceedingly prosperous. And the blessing

of God shone on his house, and on his gardens, and on his vineyards, and on his meadows, and his fields and his possessions increased exceedingly, and there was no counting the number of the blessings which the Lord set apart for him. And the man increased his alms and oblations, which he used to give to God in the name of Saint Victor. | And his wealth Fol. 55 b  
 still continued to increase greatly, and his flocks and herds P<sup>5</sup>  
 were exceedingly choice and fine, and his sheep and cattle were innumerable; and he did not cease to watch over these things until he became an old man. And at length he fell ill of the sickness of which he died. And he called his son and said unto him, 'My son, behold I am going the way of all the earth. Do thou be zealous in giving gifts to the poor, and to every one who is in need, even as thou hast seen that I have been in the habit of doing, and do thou take especial care in respect of the offering to my Lord Saint Victor. Thou shalt not diminish aught therefrom, nay, thou shalt add to it; for it is he who hath blessed us, and hath given to us these great riches, and this multitude of possessions. And let thy charities and gifts be multiplied, for they shall open unto thee the treasure-houses of the kingdom which is in the heavens.' And his son answered and said, 'Everything that thou sayest I will do'; thereupon the man sank back fainting and died, and was gathered to his fathers.

And his son took possession of his wealth and goods of all kinds, but his heart was not perfect with God as was his father's, even as it is written concerning Solomon,<sup>1</sup> and he was not charitable towards the poor. And finally he treated with contempt his father's will and testament, and he did not observe the commands which he had given to him. He diminished the charities and gifts which his father used to give, he ate and drank delicately, and he put away from him the fear of God and the precepts of his father. And when the season of the vintage arrived, the steward of | Saint Fol. 56 a

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xi. 1-10.

Victor sent certain of the clergy to him to receive the offering of first-fruits, according to the custom of his father, the son would not give them but said [to himself], 'Verily my father hated the things which belonged to him,' and he spake out loud with evil words, saying, 'It is not Saint Victor who drinketh the wine, but it is the clergy who drink it; moreover, every time they wish to communicate I will send unto them offerings and first-fruits that they may communicate. I shall certainly not give away this large quantity of wine, but I will put it aside, and will devote it to the needs of the community and to those of my own workmen.' In this way did he foolishly withdraw the offering from the saint, and he did not remember that which is written, 'Charity seeketh not its own.'<sup>1</sup> So he gathered in the grape harvest according to his father's custom, and he discovered that the wine was so great in quantity that he could not measure it. And he had it carried into storehouses, saying, 'I will keep it until the time when the merchants of Palestine come [to visit] my father this year, and I will give it to them, and will take in exchange from them much goods.' And what did Saint Victor do unto him that had neglected to give him his offering through love of possessions? Quite suddenly he made the wine which, only a very little time before, had been very choice, to change, and it bred worms, and it became putrid and sour. And all the man's affairs went backward, but he did not know that it was the hand of God that was upon him because of his contemptuous treatment of Him.

And it came to pass that on a certain day the merchants arrived, and they brought him a large quantity of gold wherewith they wished to buy some of his wine; [and when they had tasted the wine] they found that it was very bad indeed, and very thin in quality, and that it had bred worms, and they marvelled exceedingly. And afterwards they opened [other skins] in the doorway of the wine storehouse, and they

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xiii. 1 ff.

found that the wine in them was worse than that which they had tasted before; | in short, they tried all the wine, Fol. 56 b and they found that it was quite worthless. And they said p̄e unto him, 'Verily we marvel at this wine, and wonder what hath happened to it since thy father hath become blessed. Perhaps it is that thou hast neglected it; in any case we know not what hath happened to it.' And thus saying the merchants took the gold from him again, and returned to their own country. And the man was very sad indeed, and grieved exceedingly. And after some days the man became conscious of the sin which he had committed, and that it was Saint Victor who had destroyed his property because he had neglected to supply his holy offering. And he was saying, 'Woe is me, because I did not listen to the words of my father, and because I allowed avariciousness to blind my eyes. I wished to bring the offering of the martyr into his hand, and behold, he hath destroyed all the possessions which were in mine. What shall I do from this time onwards? I know not.'

And during that night Saint Victor came unto the man in glory unspeakable, and he said unto him in a very threatening manner, 'Since the love of money hath shut thine eyes, and thou hast stolen the offering which thy father used to give unto God in my name, behold I, even I, destroyed all the produce of thy vineyard, and I made thy wine to become full of worms and putrid. And I will destroy thy vineyard also, and it shall not yield thee its fruit because of thy audacity. And as for thee thyself, I have come to bring upon thee a great grief, and I would destroy thee, and thou shouldst die if it were not that I keep in remembrance | the Fol. 57 a righteousness of thy father. And assuredly because thou p̄i didst neglect to give the offering to my shrine, I myself made all thy wine to perish.'

And the man was greatly moved, and he said, 'My lord, who art thou that thou art surrounded by such exceedingly

great glory?' And he answered and said, 'I am Victor the General. I am he who blessed the possessions of thy father. I multiplied for him his corn and wine. I doubled for him his flocks and herds, and his possessions and his goods, because of the alms and oblations which he gave to the poor, and the offerings which he made unto God in my name. Thou, however, inasmuch as thou hast not obeyed thy father, and hast not remembered the fear of God, but hast been zealous in the stealing of the offering from my martyrdom, I myself have punished thee, and have destroyed thy labours. And in thee hath been fulfilled that which is written, saying, "A city is founded by the compassion of a mighty man, and it is uprooted through the folly of the fool."'<sup>1</sup>

And when the man had heard these words he cast himself down upon his face, saying, 'Forgive me, O my lord, thou holy martyr. I have sinned beyond the measure of all mankind's capacity of sinning, but count not up my sins, according to my folly, against me. And I will become thy servant, and will fear thee, even as did my father, until the day of my death. And I promise thy holy splendour that, if thou wilt shew compassion unto me, and wilt forgive me my impudent

Fol. 57<sup>b</sup> deeds, | I will give the one half of my substance and of my  
πία flocks and herds to thy shrine this year, and the other half [I will give] to the community and to the maintenance of those who work [on my estate]. And besides these I will add to the charitable gifts which my father used to make to the poor.' And the saint said unto him, 'God hath removed thy sin, and this shall be unto thee a sign that He hath done so. When thou risest up to-morrow morning open the door of thy wine-cellars and taste thy wine, and thou shalt find that it hath turned to a proper, settled condition. Thus shalt thou know that God is able to do everything, and that it is the blessing of God which maketh men rich; but what God truly loveth in a man is for him to choose a right course of

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xi. 10-11.

action. God is not in need of thy gifts and charities and of thy offerings, but He doth desire that a right course of action should be displayed by thee in respect of Him. Hast thou never heard that which is written, "He who sheweth mercy unto the poor lendeth unto the Lord,"<sup>1</sup> and "Pay thy vows to God, and let every one who is round about Him take a gift unto Him?"<sup>2</sup> Now, therefore, take heed to thyself and do the things which have come forth from thy mouth. And I will make supplication unto God on thy behalf that He may make thy riches to be as great as those of thy father. And when thou shalt go forth from the body thy soul shall not be set apart for punishment, because I will carry it as a gracious thing into the presence of God, and He will give unto it the good things of the kingdom which is in the heavens. Hast thou never heard what is written, "The supplication of the righteous man is exceedingly mighty, and effecteth [much]?"<sup>3</sup> And dost thou not know that the martyrs | endured all [their] sufferings without reward? Fol. 58 a  
 Now, therefore, O my son, watch thyself well from this day p16  
 forward. And farewell!'

And when the saint had said these words unto the man he ceased to see him. And straightway he woke up in his dream, and was very much moved, and he told the things which he had seen to his people, and they marvelled. And when the morning had come he opened the door of his wine-cellar, and he found that his wine was exceedingly excellent, and he was disturbed in his mind. And he proclaimed the mighty deeds of Saint Victor throughout the whole city. And he summoned the steward of the saint to him, and he gave unto him the half of his produce and of his wine, which he was to expend in the service of the shrine, and on the poor and on strangers, even according as he had

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xix. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. l. 14; lxxvi. 11; Nah. i. 15; Deut. xxiii. 21; Job xxii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Jas. v. 16.

vowed to the saint. And from that day onward he became a very zealous man, and he was exceedingly anxious about the salvation of his soul.

Thus ye see, O my beloved, that the mighty deeds of Saint Victor, whose festival we are celebrating this day, are truly great, and that my halting tongue is incapable of declaring one in ten thousand of his virtues and honours, and of the miracles which he hath worked. Let us celebrate his festival this day in purity of heart and in purity of body. And he is sufficiently strong to pray for us to the Lord, to forgive us our sins; for he is gracious and merciful, and he is nigh unto God at all times. Let us withdraw ourselves from every evil thing, and from every kind of fornication. And let us not continue in our sins, so that our visitation may not come to an end. Remember that the world shall pass away and the desirable things thereof, but he who performeth the will of God shall live for ever.<sup>1</sup> Therefore let us not stablish ourselves upon the hope which is vain, for the Apostle saith, 'The hope which  
 Fol. 58b is seen is not hope,'<sup>2</sup> | that is to say, the riches of this world  
 pic which shall pass away like the snow (or, frost). Be not a man of violence, for no violent man shall inherit the kingdom of God. Be not a man of strife, for it is said that there is no profit in any man of strife. Be not a lover of money, for the root of all evil is the love of money. Be not a fornicator, for him who shall defile the temple of God will God destroy. Be not a liar, for God shall destroy every man who uttereth lies. Be not a drunkard, for no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God. Be not a man of lust, for it is said, 'Whosoever shall look at a woman to desire her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.'<sup>3</sup> Be not an adulterer, for the adulterer destroyeth his soul. Be not a lover of pleasure, for it is written, 'They loved pleasure more than they loved God.'<sup>4</sup> Be not a babbling gossip,

<sup>1</sup> 1 John ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> John xii. 43 (?).



for a gag of fire shall be thrust into the mouth of the babblers. Be not a hater of [thy] brother, for he who hateth his brother is a murderer. Be not a man with a double tongue, for double-tonguedness is like unto a two-edged sword.

If thou wilt observe these things in thine own person, thou shalt be a servant of the Lord, and Saint Victor shall rejoice over the celebration of his festival. Let us stretch out our hands to the poor in charity and compassion, for it is written, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.'<sup>1</sup> Let us visit the sick and those who are shut up in confinement, in order that God in His compassion may visit us. Let us put clothing on the naked, | in order that we may escape Fol. 59 " from the trouble and the gnashing of teeth. Let us receive pra into our houses the poor, who have no houses, on the festival of Saint Victor, so that he may remember us before God, Who shall take us into His kingdom which is in the heavens. Let us not permit to remain in our hearts any restraint in respect of any man, on the festival of Saint Victor, in order that God and His angel may be in our midst when we are celebrating his festival, lest he condemn us as enemies. On the contrary, let us break asunder every bond of violence, and every bond of enmity, and every bond of wickedness in respect of each other, in order that God and His holy angel shall be at peace with us.

And here, at this point, we must give pause to our discourse, because the time is come when we must perform the service of the Holy Offering. It is true that our discourse hath run to an inordinate length, but [the people] were thirsty for the waters of the word of God, and for [the narrative of] the mighty deeds of the saint. And it shall happen for us that Saint Victor, whose festival we celebrate this day, shall make entreaty to God on our behalf, that He may forgive us our sins, and may bless the God-loving Emperor, and all the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 7.

orthodox people, through Jesus the Christ, our Lord, to Whom be glory, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy, and vivifying, and consubstantial Spirit, now and always, for ever and ever and world without end. Bless us! Amen. So be it!

## COLOPHON

This book [was copied through] the zeal and care of the most God-loving deacon Pourot (?). He undertook the preparation thereof, and he presented it to the church of Saint Victor of Tebô, that is of Apollinopolis, according to the speech of the Alexandrians. May God preserve for life and health (or, salvation) the God-loving brother . . . . Pourot, and make him to be worthy of the joy of the kingdom which is in the heavens. May he live to the full the angelic life which he hath assumed, even as did our fathers, the ancestors [of our] community, and may he [pour out] his blessing upon us, and upon all the saints likewise! Amen.

May the Lord Jesus the Christ, Who is in very truth our Veritable God, preserve for life and salvation the most God-fearing arch-presbyter Apa Abraham, the president and director of the Monastery of Saint Mercurius of Tebô, and may he [pour out] his blessing upon us. May the Lord preserve for life and salvation all the fathers and sons of the monastery, and make us worthy of their blessing. May He incline (?) their hearts to pray for me before our King, the Christ. May He forgive me my sins, which are many, and may He shew mercy unto me in the day of my visitation, to me Joseph, the least of all men and the most miserable, the son of the blessed Sisinnios, the Archdeacon of the Catholic Church of Saint John the Baptist in the city of Snê. May the Lord give peace unto him, and to Zôkratôr, the least of all men, the deacon, the son of Joseph the deacon. Pray for me . . . . . Amen.

Written on the eighteenth day of the month Parmouti, in the six hundred and sixty-seventh year of Diocletian (A.D. 951).

# THE LIFE OF SAINTS EUSTATHIUS AND OF THEOPISTÊ AND OF THEIR TWO CHILDREN

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

Fol. 1 a THE LIFE AND CONVERSATION OF SAINT APA  
8 EUSTATHIUS, A GENERAL OF THE EMPEROR  
TRAJAN, AND OF THEOPISTÊ HIS WIFE, AND  
OF AGAPIUS AND THEOPISTUS HIS SONS, WHO  
ENDED THEIR MARTYRDOMS IN THE GREAT  
CITY OF ROME, ON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF  
THE MONTH THOTH, UNDER THE EMPEROR  
TRAJAN. IN PEACE. AMEN.

THERE is implanted in a holy man the earnest desire to learn, which is partly natural and partly voluntary, and these qualities are equally clearly distinguished. The holy man setteth up virtue, and he wisheth to instruct his neighbours by the [examples of] others who have lived from the earliest times, and who have given thanks to Him that hath done good unto us all from the beginning, that is to say, to our God and our Lord Jesus the Christ, those whom He hath  
..... I mean that not all have given thanks. We are those [unto whom] He doeth [good]. And

Fol. 1 b there are very many | admonitions (or, teachings), and acts  
6 of valiant and blessed men which have come down to us in the Holy Scriptures, which are like unto images that have souls in them, and which will make those who wish to follow them resemble [them] in their glorious integrity, and prevent them from becoming feeble in the performance of their mighty deeds. The men about whom I shall now write to you are men who maintained their virtuous deeds in our own

time, and who did not slacken in their integrity and valiant behaviour. And the men of old, whose histories have been written in the Holy Scriptures in order that those who hear them may love what is good, and may turn themselves to the strength of their virtue, spake, saying, 'Now, in these latter times, there is none who acteth uprightly.'<sup>1</sup> As for me, I say that so far as the man who wisheth to do what is good is concerned, neither the labour [involved in obtaining] the fruits, nor a life which is fully [occupied] in business affairs, need hinder the life which is devoted to the performance of good works. If there be any man who wisheth to follow first of all | the word of nature and the instruction of the holy Fol. 2 a men, of whom we are going to speak, let him seek after the refreshing (or, rest) which existeth in the way of a course of life filled with virtue, after the manner of those about whom it is my intention now to speak. And we will describe to you the beginning of their lives, and the reason for the honourableness of their paths, and we will make these things manifest so far as the power to do so lieth in us. And as for you, O ye blessed men and worshippers of Christ, do ye hearken unto them with all your will, in good faith, and without unbelief and captious doubt in your minds. ῥ

And there was in the kingdom of the Emperor Trajan, wherein the worship of idols had spread and prevailed, a certain general whose name was Plakêtas (Placidus). He was near of kin to the king, and he belonged to a very great and noble family, according to [the opinion] of this world, and he was exceedingly rich. And he exceeded all the other nobles of the palace in his possessions, [in] gold, and [in] silver, and he had troops of slaves, and riches of all kinds in very great abundance; | and by race he was a Greek. And he was Fol. 2 b adorned with all the works of righteousness. Those who were in distress he relieved. He helped those who were suffering oppression, and those who were naked he clothed, ῥ

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xiv. 1.

and he provided food for those who were hungry, and he redeemed, at his own expense, very many of those who had been condemned to death. In short, he was the steward of every one who was in need, so far as the wants of the body were concerned, and he was a second Cornelius<sup>1</sup> at that time. And he had a wife who was herself a worshipper of idols, but she was adorned with every excellent quality and virtue in exactly the same degree [as her husband]; and two sons were born to them, and these they brought up to walk in the same good path as their parents. And the man was exceedingly well known because of the good works which he was in the habit of doing, and he was so celebrated for his personal strength and valour that the Barbarians were afraid at the mere mention of his name. For he was a fine fighter, and he

Fol. 3 a had gained great renown | in battles of all kinds, but his  
 ē whole desire was to hunt and slay wild animals, and for this he was greatly esteemed. But the Good God, Who loveth every man who is worthy of Him in every place, did not forget the good deeds of this man, neither did He wish to destroy his good disposition, but even as it is written, 'Every heathen who feareth God, and who worketh righteousness, shall be accepted by Him,'<sup>2</sup> His bowels of compassion yearned towards him, and He was merciful towards him to such a degree that God willed to save his life, and He did so in the way and by the means which I will here declare unto you.

And it came to pass that on a certain day the man went out, according to his custom, to hunt wild beasts in the mountain, he and his soldiers, and all his slaves were with him. And there appeared unto him a herd of deer that were feeding, and he ordered the company who were with him to give chase to them, and all the soldiers gave all their energies to catching the beasts. And one of them |

Fol. 3 b appeared from out of the herd, and he was a very fine animal  
 ē and stood higher than all of them, and he broke away from

<sup>1</sup> See Acts x. 1-31.<sup>2</sup> Acts x. 35.

the herd, and took to flight, and he ran for safety into a thicket on the mountain, which was very dense, and very difficult for the hunters to penetrate. And when Plakêtas had seen him he wished to take him in a snare. And he took with him certain soldiers, and hid away all the others, and he gave chase to the animal. Now the soldiers who had gone with him became exhausted, and they gave up the chase, and Plakêtas rode into the thicket alone in pursuit of the beast. And by the good Providence of God neither he nor the horse on which he was riding became exhausted in that dense thicket. And when he had persevered for some time in his pursuit, and was a very long way off from his companions, then the beast stood still upon a very high mountain. And when the general had approached him, there being no men with him, he stood still and looked round about on every side, and he wondered by what means he could take him in a snare. And God, the Lover of mankind, | Who effecteth the salvation of man in very many ways, snared this [general] in His net, even as was snared Cornelius through Peter, and even as was Paul unto whom He appeared when he was persecuting Him. And when a considerable time had passed, during which Plakêtas had been looking at the stag, and marvelling at its great size and very fine appearance, and thinking out the means whereby he might capture it, the Lord gave him the following sign; and He made him able to see it, and it appeared unto him in the following form. There was a figure of a cross between the stag's horns, and it shone more brightly than the sun, and there was, moreover, between his horns a similitude like unto the body wherein God arrayed Himself in the womb of the Virgin; now He clothed Himself in this body for our salvation. And He cried out to Plakêtas from the animal with the voice of a man, saying, 'O Plakêtas, why dost thou hunt Me? For it is for thine own sake that I have appeared unto thee in the form of this animal. | I am Jesus, He Whom thou servest, without knowing it.

Fol. 4 a

5

Fol. 4 b

H

Thy kind and charitable deeds which thou doest have come before Me. Therefore I have Myself appeared unto thee, and I have snared thee by means of this animal that is without reasoning power. And I have netted thee with the nets of My Godhead. It is not just to allow those who love Me by their good deeds to act as slaves to unclean demons, and idols which are dead, and dumb, and which are without feeling. For this reason did I come upon the earth in the form wherein thou now seest Me, for I wish to deliver (or, save) the race of man.'

And when Plakêtas heard these things he was terrified, and he fell down upon the ground. And when a long time had passed he rose up, wishing to understand with exactness the miracle which had taken place. And he said, 'What then is this sight which I have seen? And what manner of voice is this which I have heard? Make Thyself manifest to

Fol. 5 a  
 6 me, O Thou Who speakest with me, and I will | believe in Thee.' And the Lord said unto him, 'Take heed, O Plakêtas. I am Jesus the Christ, the Son of the living God, Who created the heavens and the earth, when nothing existed, and I created all substance of which things are made, and everything else. I am He Who made the light to appear, and I separated it from the darkness. I am He Who created the sun and made it to shine by day, and I appointed the moon and the stars to shine by night. I am He Who ordained times, and seasons, and days. I am He Who fashioned man from the earth. I appeared for him in the flesh which I took upon Myself for the sake of the salvation of men. I am He Whom they crucified, and I died, and I rose upon the third day from the dead.'

When Plakêtas heard these words he fell down upon his face and cried out, saying, 'I believe, Lord, that Thou art He Who hath created everything, and that Thou art He Who turneth back those who go astray, and those who have gone astray, and that Thou art He Who giveth life unto those who are



dead.' And the Lord answered and said, 'If thou believest, go, make thy way to the high priest of the | Christians, Fol. 5 b and demand from him the freely-given gift of baptism.' I  
 And Plakêtas answered and said unto Him, 'Lord, command me to relate these words to my wife and children, so that they also may believe in Thee.' And the Lord said unto him, 'Repeat them. And ye shall be purified from every unclean thing. When ye have received the seal of baptism thou shalt return hither, and I will appear unto thee, and I will declare unto thee the mystery of salvation.'

And Plakêtas came down from the mountain, and went into his house. And when the evening had come he began to speak and tell his wife and sons about the things which he had seen in the vision, and how the Lord had appeared unto him. And his wife cried out and said unto him, 'Lord, my brother, thou hast seen God Whom they crucified, Whom the Christians worship. For He is the only true God, and it is He Who delivereth those who put their hopes in Him.' And she cried out vehemently, saying, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord Jesus the Christ, and upon my two sons also.' And she said unto her husband, 'In the night which hath passed I myself also | saw Him, and He said unto me, To-morrow Fol. 6 a do thou, and thy husband, and your sons come to Me. And I  
 I recognized that He was the God, Jesus the Christ, the God of the Galileans. It is He Who willed to appear unto thee in this miraculous manner with the animal in order that thou mayest rely upon His strength, and believe in Him. Therefore come this very night, and let us go and receive baptism from the high priest of the Christians, even as thou wast commanded, for by this do those who believe in Him become members of His household.' And Plakêtas answered, saying, 'This is what He Who appeared unto me commanded.'

And in the middle of that night they took their two sons secretly, and a few of their slaves, and they went to the high priest of the Christians, and told him all the dream,

and they confessed their belief in the Lord Jesus the Christ, and they entreated him to give them the seal of the Christ by baptism. And the high priest rejoiced, and ascribed glory  
 Fol. 6 b to God Who wisheth all men to have life, | and to come to  
 ¶ the knowledge of the truth. And the high priest took them, and catechized them, and gave into their hands the Holy Mysteries of the Faith, and he baptized them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And to Plakêtas he gave the name of Eustathius, and to his wife Theopistê; his elder son he called Agapius, and the younger Theopistus; and he gave them the Glorious Body and Blood of the Christ, and dismissed them, saying, 'May God, the Christ, be with you, and may He graciously grant unto you His kingdom for ever. And know that the hand of the Lord is with you, and I earnestly beseech you that when ye shall be in Paradise ye remember the soul of John, the least of all men and the most miserable.'

And when the morning had come Eustathius took horses, and he departed to the mountain, and went towards the spot wherein he had seen the vision. And he dismissed his  
 Fol. 7 a soldiers, and sent them away to hunt the wild animals, | and  
 ¶ he remained where he was alone for a short time; then he moved on, and went nearer and nearer to the place where he had seen the figure at first. And he cast himself down upon his face, and he cried out, saying, 'Lord, I know that Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, and I believe in Thee and in Thy Good Father, and in the Holy Spirit. And now I beseech Thee, if I be worthy of the holy grace of Thy Godhead, declare unto me the things which Thou hast to say unto me.' And straightway the Lord answered and said unto him, 'Blessed art thou, O Plakêtas, because thou hast received the washing of grace, and hast arrayed thyself in the indestructible garment which abideth for ever. Now, therefore, do thou make manifest the work of thy faith. Since the Devil is envious of thee thou must cast him behind thee;

and he will be zealous in setting snares of every kind for thee, and he will contend against thee. For thou must of necessity endure manifold temptations. | If thou endurest Fol. 7<sup>b</sup>  
 them in patience thou shalt receive the crown of victory. 12  
 Behold, thou shalt rise very much higher in the works (or, affairs) of [this] life, and in the riches which are temporal. And, moreover, thou shalt become rich in spiritual excellence. Now be not weak, neither be thou overcome by the glory of this world, which thou didst possess originally; but as thou didst shew thyself to be a mighty man among men, and as thou didst wage war, and didst strive zealously to serve a king who is mortal, even so do thou strive zealously to prove thyself to be a mighty man against the Devil, and do thou keep fast hold on the faith for Me, for I am the Immortal King. For needs must that thou shouldst become a second Job, in these times, who shall vanquish the Devil in temptation. Take good heed to thyself lest the reasoning of blasphemy ascend in thine heart, and when thou shalt be in a state of humility I will come unto thee in order that I may re-establish thee in thy former glory.'

And when the Lord had said these things unto him He departed into heaven, and the Lord spake unto him, saying, 'Eustathius, there shall be unto thee as great a temptation as thou canst wish in that which thou shalt have | in the last Fol. 8<sup>a</sup>  
 days.' And Eustathius said unto Him, 'If this be the last 16  
 of my days, I now beseech Thee, O my Lord, supposing that I am not able to bear the things which Thou hast appointed me, to remove them, and not to let them come upon me, and command that our temptation return unto Thee. But give us strength, O Lord, Thou God of mighty deeds, for Thou art He in Whom we trust.' And the Lord said unto him, 'Fight, O Eustathius, and My grace shall watch over what is in [thy] heart.' And Saint Eustathius came down from the mountain, and he went into his house, and told his wife the things which God had said unto him. And they knelt down

together on their knees, and they prayed, saying, 'Let Thy will be done.'

And it came to pass, after a few days, that a pestilence broke out in the house of Eustathius, and all his slaves died. And when this had happened, Eustathius perceived that there had actually come upon him the temptation (or, trial) which, according to the indications that had already been given to him, was to come upon him, and he welcomed it as such, and  
 Fol. 8 b he rejoiced, and exhorted | his wife not to lose courage. And  
 18 after a little time all his horses, and cattle, and sheep died, and this temptation also he received with joy. And after these things he left his house, he, and his wife, and his sons, who knew nothing [of the reason], and he departed to another place. And when the doers of iniquity knew that they had departed, they went by night and plundered his house, and they stripped it bare, leaving nothing whatsoever behind them, neither gold, nor silver, nor raiment. After all these losses, and all these sorrows, they became quite destitute, for they had lost all their substance, and everything which they had. And all these things happened through the crafty designs of the Adversary.

And it came to pass in those days that all the people were celebrating a festival, and they were rejoicing greatly because they had conquered the Persians, and the Emperor was celebrating the festival with them with great heartiness, but Eustathius felt that it was not seemly for him to join them in celebrating the festival. As, however, he was a great  
 Fol. 9 a general | among the nobles of Rome, the Emperor enquired  
 17 for him, but did not find him. And when the Emperor learned that in one hour nothing had been left to him of all his possessions, and that neither he nor those who were with him had anything left, he and all the nobles with him were exceedingly sorry on his account, and they marvelled at what had happened to him.

Then his wife said unto him, 'How long shall we sit

here in this place? Rise up, and let us take our sons who are left unto us, and let us depart and leave this country, because we have become the laughing-stock of those who know us.' And that night they took their sons and departed, and they set out for Egypt. And when they had been travelling for a day or two they arrived at the sea, and they found a ship anchored at the quay, and they made enquiries about embarking in the ship. And the captain of the ship was a savage and brutal man. And when they had embarked in the ship they put to sea, and the captain of the ship looked upon the wife of Eustathius, and he saw that her face was beautiful, and he loved her. | And when the captain Fol. 9 b arrived at the shore of the sea he asked Eustathius for his IH passage money, but he had it not to give to him; and he seized the wife of Eustathius in place of the passage money, for he had already determined that he would not let her go with her husband. And when Eustathius persevered in arguing the matter with him, and in making supplication to him, the captain made a sign to the sailors to lay hold upon him, and to throw him into the sea. And when Eustathius knew of their evil intentions he very unwillingly left his wife behind, and taking his two sons departed with them weeping, and he made lamentation, saying, 'Woe is me, O my sons, for your mother hath been seized by a barbarian.'

And he went away heaving sighs and shedding tears, and he came to a river of water, and owing to the heavy rain which had fallen into it he was unable to swim across it with both his sons at the same time. And he took the one son on his neck, and leaving the other on this side of the river he swam across the water, and left on the other side the son whom he had been carrying, and then turned back [to fetch] the other. And it came to pass that whilst | he was in the Fol. 10 a middle of the river he lifted up his eyes, and saw that a lion Ie had seized his son, and that he was dragging him along the ground and going away with him. And his father Eustathius

was in despair about him ; but he recovered himself at length, feeling that there was hope for him, for he still had the other son left to him. And again he looked, and saw that the other son was being carried off by a wolf. And [when] he perceived that both his sons had been carried away into captivity by wild beasts he tore out the hair of his head, and wept abundantly with exceedingly great bitterness, and he was about to cast himself into the flood. But the loving care of God gave strength to his heart, so that it might make him to know what was to happen to him. Therefore he did not do this (i.e. drown himself), but he swam across the river in order to depart into the desert.

And when certain shepherds saw the [one] child in the jaws of the lion, and that he was uninjured, they said with right understanding, 'The Providence of God is disposed to protect this boy, and to help him, and it will deliver him from the wild beast.' And they gave chase to the lion with their horses, and the lion was afraid. And by the dispensation of God the lion dropped the child from his mouth, and fled, |

Fol. 10 b

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and the shepherds picked up the child, and they reared it as a son to them on the east of the river. And as for the other son which the wolf had carried off the good Providence of God preserved him also unharmed. For when certain men who were ploughing the land saw him [being carried off] they gave chase to the wolf, and took him from the beast ; and the child had received no injury whatsoever. And the ploughmen and the shepherds were living together in the same village, and they took the two little children, and reared them as their own.

Now Eustathius had no knowledge whatsoever of what had happened ; but he walked on his way, and he wept, and kept repeating these words, 'Woe is me ! I was at one time flourishing like a tree, but now I am dried up and withered. Woe is me ! I had at one time large room, but now I am like unto a captive. Woe is me ! I, who at one time

had legions of soldiers at my feet, am now left utterly to myself, and neither my wife nor my children are permitted to be with me. But do not, O Lord, cast me away, and be not Thou forgetful of my tears. O Lord, Thou didst say unto | me, "Needs must that thou shalt be tempted as was Fol. 11 a Job." And behold, do Thou look upon my sufferings which Kā have become exceedingly severe. For even if the possessions which he had were all carried away, there still remained to him the dung-hill whereon he could seat himself, whereas I am a miserable sojourner in a strange land, and am burdened with all this mass of misery. And again, Job had his children to console him, and to help him to bear his sufferings, whereas in my case the wild beasts have carried off my children, who should be my consolation. And even if his branches, I mean his children, were lopped off, he still had left to him the root, that is to say, his wife, who would live in the house with him, even though she did not serve him as a wife in the [true sense of] the word. But as for me, miserable man that I am, my root is cut off on all sides, and I cannot see a single ray of light from the lamp of my race. Moreover, I am like a tree in the desert, which is being ever shaken by the winds of the Devil. Do not, Lord, do not afflict Thy servant, [and drive him] to | utter many words, for if I spake the things which I Fol. 11 b ought not to speak, I should be grieved in heart. Kā Do Thou, therefore, O Lord, set a guard upon my mouth, and a strong seal upon my lips, so that my heart may not incline towards the words which are evil, and Thou mayest not cast me away from before Thy face. And give Thou me rest, O Lord !'

And as he was saying these things, and was heaving sighs and weeping, he came to a village, which was called Bassos, and he went into it, and worked there, and procured his daily bread therein. And when he had lived there a long time the owners of the village entreated him to go and become watchman of the fruit crops in the orchard there, and he fulfilled this work for a period of ten years, and received his

wages for the same. And his sons were being fed and brought up in the village which we have already mentioned, and they did not know that they were brethren. And the captain of the ship who had carried off the wife of Eustathius took her to his own country, and the great shadow of God overshadowed her so completely that the barbarian was never able to touch her all that time. For what this woman had entreated

Fol. 12<sup>a</sup> God to grant her was that a pagan | man should not touch her  
 at all.

And it came to pass that after her barbarian husband was dead the woman remained in that country. And after [many] days those pagan people among whom the wife of Eustathius was living rose up (or, rebelled), and advanced to seize the country of the Romans. And the Emperor Trajan was greatly troubled because of the war with these pagan peoples, and he remembered Plakêtas, more especially because of his bravery and his numerous defeats of the alien peoples. And the remembrance of Eustathius kept stirring within him, and he was troubled about the change which had come upon him in his affairs. Then he prepared himself and the soldiers who were in his kingdom for the war. And he grieved exceedingly for Plakêtas, and he spake, saying, ‘Him who shall give me such indication as will help me to find him, upon him will I bestow a great honour and a yearly wage, and I will make

Fol. 12<sup>b</sup> him exceedingly | rich.’

And two of his soldiers—now the name of one of them was Antiochus, and that of the other Acacius, and they had been servants of Eustathius, and untiring in their ministrations to him in times past when he was living with them—departed to seek after him, and they searched the whole kingdom through very thoroughly until they arrived at the village wherein Eustathius was. And as they were going along in the place wherein Eustathius was keeping watch he saw them from a distance, and he recognized them by their peculiar carriage, and by their gait. And he remembered his



former manner of life, and he began to feel sorrowful in heart, and he prayed, saying, 'O Lord God, Thou merciful One, Who deliverest every one who putteth his hope in Thee, since I have seen those who formerly walked with me shall not I have hope? Now, therefore, give the command, and look upon me and upon Thy servant, that is to say, my wife. For I know well that because of my own evil works my children have become food for wild beasts, but I entreat Thee to permit me to look upon [them] again in the Resurrection.' |

And whilst Eustathius was saying these words he heard a Fol. 13 a  
 voice which spake unto him, saying, 'Be of good cheer, O Rē  
 Eustathius, at this time, for thou shalt again have the position which thou hadst formerly, and thou shalt receive thy wife and thy children. In the resurrection of the dead thou shalt see the good things which are for ever. Do not deny Me, and thou shalt find a rest which is endless, and thy name shall increase from generation to generation.' And when he had heard these words Eustathius was afraid, and he walked down from the place where he was, and he stood up close to where the two soldiers were on the road in front of them, and he knew them without any doubt, but they did not know him. They said unto him, 'Hail, good neighbour!' And he said unto them, 'Peace be unto you, O my brethren!' They said unto him, 'Dost thou know in this place a man who is a stranger, and is called Plakêtas, and his wife, and his children? If thou canst shew us this man we will give unto thee very much money.' And Eustathius said unto them, 'For what purpose art thou enquiring after him?' And they said unto him, 'He was a fellow soldier, and behold, we have been wishing to meet him for many years past.' And he said unto them, 'I know not the man. Rest ye, however, | with me, Fol. 13 b  
 for the day is far spent; rest ye yourselves with me in this Rē  
 place which I inhabit. For I myself am a stranger.'

And he took them into his house, and then departed to buy some wine to give them to drink. And he said unto the

master of the house wherein he lodged, 'I know these men. They have come to me here that I may supply them with food and wine; and they would rest (i.e. lodge) with me in this place. [Give me food and wine] and I will repay thee the price of the same at the time when my wages [are paid]'; and the man gave unto him joyfully everything which he needed. And Eustathius remained and ministered unto them, and he could hardly contain himself when he remembered his former life; nevertheless he kept a strong hold upon himself, and did not weep, but he went out [of the house] and wept. And he washed his face, and went into [the house again], and served them. And they looked at him, and little by little they began to recognize him, and they spake unto each other, |

Fol. 14 a saying, 'This man is like unto the man whom we are seeking';  
 RH and the one said unto the other, 'Yea, he is like him. I know that there was a scar on his neck which was caused by a wound which he received in it a long time ago during the war with the Masekatês. Let us watch him carefully so that we may see whether he hath the scar or not. If he hath the scar on his neck then he is the man.' And having watched for the sign very carefully they saw the mark of the wound on his neck, and straightway they rushed to him, and they kissed him, and they asked him, saying, 'Art thou not the man Plakêtas who was formerly a great general?' And he denied it, saying, 'Certainly not'; and he kept a strong hold upon himself so that he might not weep. And when they had pointed out to him the scar of the wound on his neck, they took an oath to him, saying, 'Thou art Plakêtas, the general'; and they asked him concerning his wife and his children. And he said unto them, 'They are dead.'

Fol. 14 b And whilst he was | talking to them about these matters  
 RH they lifted up their faces with a great cry, and they wept so loudly that all the people who were in the village heard them; and whilst they were uttering these loud cries the people of the village came to see what had happened, and they were

afraid and were greatly moved. And the soldiers quieted their uproar, and described to them the power and honour which the man had enjoyed formerly. And when the men of the village had heard these things they heaved sighs, and said, 'Great is the honour of this man who hath become a hireling unto us.' Then the soldiers reported the matter to the Emperor. And they arrayed Eustathius in good apparel, being such things as they had with them, and they took him and set out on their road. And every one who was in the village walked with him to set him on his way, and [when] he had supplicated them he sent them away.

And whilst he was travelling along the road with the soldiers he described unto them the things which he had seen [in the thicket], and how he had seen the Christ, and also how he had been named Eustathius, and he told them about all the things which had happened | unto him. And Fol. 15<sup>a</sup>  
when they had fulfilled fifteen days in marching on the road RE  
they came to the place where the Emperor Trajan was, and they shewed unto him in what manner they had discovered Plakêtas. And Trajan the Emperor came forth to meet him, and he kissed him, and he wept many tears, and he enquired of him what his reason was for his departure. And Eustathius related to Trajan and all the nobles what had happened unto him, and the history of his wife and his children, and in what way the captain of the ship had carried away his wife by force, and how his children had been carried off by wild beasts, and he described to them their tribulations. And there was very great joy indeed in [the hearts of the Emperor and his nobles] because they had found Eustathius alive. And the Emperor comforted him, and made him a general as he had been aforetime.

And when Eustathius had inspected the army he knew that it was not sufficiently strong to fight in battle against the Barbarians, and he shewed the Emperor that this was so. And Trajan the Emperor commanded his officers to enlist

recruits, and he wrote an epistle to every city wherein he ordered the people thereof to enlist men, and to train them, |

Fol. 15 *b* and to make them fit to be used as soldiers. And it came to  
 ᾠ pass that when [the envoys] had entered the village wherein were the sons of Eustathius they took the two young men and made recruits of them. And the men who were in that place bore testimony concerning them, and said that they were vigorous in respect of their strength, and goodly in their appearance. And when Eustathius had gathered together all the recruits, and had assigned to them their positions, he perceived that the two young men were the most goodly of them all. And he appointed them to serve him personally, because he knew that they were of noble birth by their manners and habits, and in his good nature he set them apart to minister unto himself. And their own natural disposition drew them more and more day by day to make him love them, and he gave orders that they were to eat with him at his table.

And after these things he took command of the army according to his wont, and he departed to the war and to the country of the Barbarians, which he had taken before that

Fol. 16 *a* day, and in which he had set free | those who had been kept

ᾠ in captivity therein. And he crossed the river which is called Hydaspes,<sup>1</sup> and went up over the mountains, and penetrated far into the country of the Barbarians, and he vanquished the foreigners also, and spoiled the whole country. And Eustathius took counsel with some of the pagans, and it seemed good to the Providence of God to make him to enter the place where his wife was. Now this woman had, from the very first, been preserved, even as I have already said, through the care of God, from the violence of the captain of the ship [and of other] masters. And when this foreigner died she went away by herself, and she took

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly likely that the Indian river Hydaspes in the Panjâb is here referred to.

up her abode in the garden of one of the people with whom she lodged, and she made a booth wherein she might live by herself. And when the general had taken that town, and had spoiled it, he pitched his camp there for a period of three days, and rested there with his army, because that place was very suitable for encamping in. | And it came to Fol. 16 b  
pass that the two young men took up their abode in that λβ  
garden wherein the booth of their mother was situated. And as it was the season of noon they sat down and discussed together the affairs of their childhood, but they did not know that their mother was in that place, nor did they know what had happened to them.

And their mother was sitting listening to what they were saying. And the elder brother said unto the younger brother, 'As concerning the time of my childhood I cannot remember anything at all except that my father was a general, and that my mother was a very beautiful woman, and that they had two children. One of them was younger than myself, and his hair was red, and his face was handsome. And they took us, and they came forth from our house one night, and they embarked with us in a ship wherein we sailed. I know not whither. And when we arrived at the shore on the ship my mother remained by herself on the ship, though for what purpose I know not. | As for us our father took the two Fol. 17 a  
of us away, and he went on his way weeping. And having λγ  
come to a river he swam across it with my little brother, and me he left on the bank of the stream. And when he would have returned to carry me over a lion sprang upon me and seized me with his jaws, and went off with me into the desert. Now certain shepherds who were pasturing their flocks in that place snatched me from the lion, and they brought me up there. This I do know, but I do not know what happened to my little brother and to my father.'

When the younger brother heard these things from his elder brother he leaped up and wept, and he said, 'Thou art

my brother. For from what thou hast said I know that thou art my lord brother, because I myself was brought by the shepherds who told me that I had been snatched away from the claws of the wolf'; and he embraced him, and they kissed each other. And as their mother was listening to these things she knew that the two young men were her sons by what they had said about her voyage on the ship.

Fol. 17<sup>b</sup>

And she said within herself, | 'I wonder can these young men be my sons or not? Can my sons possibly have their forms?' And she was exceedingly sorrowful, and her bowels were greatly moved when she saw the young men embracing each other and weeping. And she continued to gaze upon them, and she said, 'These assuredly are my sons, more especially because they said that their father was a general, and that their mother remained on the ship.'

And on the morrow she went to the general and spake unto him, saying, 'I beseech thee [to hear me], O my lord; I am a woman from the country of the Romans, and I was carried away captive, and they brought me to this place. I therefore entreat thee to take me back to my native land.' And whilst she was saying these things she began to recognize in him her husband through the various characteristic marks which she knew to be in him; and when she had recognized him she was afraid to question him. And when she was unable any longer to contain herself she cast herself down [before] him, saying, 'I beseech thee, O my lord, be not angry with me, for I wish thee to make known unto me what

Fol. 18<sup>a</sup>

thy rank in life was formerly. Now I think that | thou wast Plakêtas, the general, who changed his name, and who was called Eustathius, after thou hadst been baptized in the Name of the Christ Jesus, Who did appear unto thee with an animal that was without reasoning power, and thou didst believe on Him. And when thou hadst fallen into the trials which the Lord had previously indicated to thee thou didst take thy wife, that is to say, myself, and thy two sons, that is

to say, Agapius and Theopistus, and didst set out for Egypt. And when we had come to the sea we embarked in a ship, and we set sail, and made our passage, and when we had arrived thou didst punish me through the savage captain of the ship, who seized me and carried me off to his native land. But, as the Lord Jesus the Christ is my witness, neither that man nor any other hath defiled my body, but I have guarded my chastity until this day. If now thou art Eustathius, as I know thou must be judging by the marks which I can describe unto thee, I conjure thee by the might of the Christ to declare thyself, and not to hide from me anything whatsoever.' |

And when Eustathius had heard these things he marvelled Fol. 18 b  
 exceedingly. And when he had looked into her face, and λϵ  
 recognized her, a mighty joy came upon him. And he rose up straightway, and embraced her, and said unto her, 'I am Eustathius of whom thou speakest.' And they kissed each other with a spiritual kiss, and they shed tears in great abundance, and they glorified God Who at all times doeth good things for His servants, and bringeth them out of all tribulation. And his wife said unto him, 'Where are my sons?' And he said unto her, and he wept as he said it, 'The wild beasts carried them off'; and he told her what had happened unto them [when they were] with him. And she said unto him, 'Let us give thanks unto the Lord, for even as He hath given us each to the other, so will He speedily give unto us our sons.' And Eustathius said unto her, 'I tell thee again that the wild beasts carried them off.' And she answered and said, 'Whilst I was sitting in the garden yesterday I heard two young men talking together about the events which happened in their early childhood, and they related things which concerned their early years. And I knew that they were my sons, | but they would never have Fol. 19 a  
 recognized one another had it not been that the words which λζ  
 the elder brother spake supplied the clue that enabled the

younger brother to recognize him. If thou hast not up to the present known this, then know well that it was the lovingkindness of God that hath given us to each other. Do thou thyself call the young men, and ask them questions, and let them inform thee.'

And the general called the two young men, and asked them, saying, 'Whose sons are ye? And what was it that happened to you in your childhood?' And they declared unto him the things which had happened to them, and immediately he recognized that they were in truth his sons, and he embraced them with fervour, and he kissed them. And Eustathius and his wife cast themselves on the necks of their sons, and they wept long and gave thanks unto God for the marvellous manner in which they had met one another again. And the rumour of that which had befallen them reached all the multitude of the city, and all the people gathered together in one place, and they marvelled and rejoiced because Eustathius and his wife and sons had met together once more, but more especially for the victory over the Barbarians. And they made a great feast that day because they had met together [again], |

Fol. 19 b and on the following day they invoked God, and sent forth  
 ΑΗ cries of thanksgiving unto Him for His great lovingkindness to man. And when they had carried out the spoliation of the Barbarians they returned with great gladness, and brought with them a very large amount of spoil and a multitude of captives.

And it came to pass that when Eustathius was returning from the war the Emperor Trajan died, and there came in his room another Emperor whose name was Adrian (Hadrian), who was an exceedingly irreligious man, and was more wicked than all the other kings who had reigned before him. And when Eustathius was returning from the war the Emperor went out to meet him, according to the custom of the Roman Emperors, and he brought out with him all his nobles, because of the [long] list of all the places which he (Eustathius) had taken.



And he, because of his valour, whereof he was conscious, and because of his meeting with his wife and sons, was filled to the uttermost with his joy. And when he had come into the city the Emperor went and entered into the temple of Apollo, but Eustathius did not go in with him, and remained outside. And the Emperor called him, and asked him why | he did not come into the temple of Apollo, [saying], ‘Thou Fol. 20 a must pour out a libation to the gods in return for thy victory, λθ and because thou hast returned from the war, and thou must offer up sacrifices of thanksgiving to them, especially as thou hast found thy wife and thy sons.’ And Eustathius said unto the Emperor, ‘I will certainly offer up offerings to my King, the Christ Jesus, together with our supplications and our prayers, and our manifold entreaties, because He hath had pity on our wretched state, and hath brought us out of captivity. He it is Who hath given to me my wife and my sons, and hath helped me according to what He spake to me before I received baptism in His Name. Now, therefore, I know no other god besides Him. For He is the God Who hath created the heaven and the earth, and it is He alone Who hath done these great marvels.’

Then the Emperor was wroth when he heard these things from Eustathius, and he made him to withdraw from him as if he had been a pagan, he and his wife and his sons, and he spake unto them words of terror and threats of destruction. And the saints neither regarded | them nor Fol. 20 b were they frightened at all. And when the Emperor saw α their unconcern and their faith in the Christ, he commanded them to be taken to the stadium, and to be put an end to by means of a mighty lion. And when the lion advanced to attack them he stood still before the saints, and bent his legs and worshipped them, and he laid his head also down on the ground. And afterwards he came out of the stadium and departed. And when the Emperor saw this great sight, and that the wild beast would not attack them, he fell into

doubt. And he commanded them to make a brazen bull, so that they might cast the saints into it and burn them. And the multitude gathered together to see the strife, and the spectacle of the saints ; and [the servants of the Emperor] seized them with the mechanical contrivances of the instrument for lifting them up into it. And the blessed Eustathius entreated the honourable people to allow them to pray, and he spread out his hands, he and his wife and his sons, and they prayed, saying, ‘O Lord God of the Powers, Whom no man hath ever seen, but Whom now we see according to His wish, hearken Thou now unto us who cry unto Thee. Make Thou

Fol. 21 a

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our prayer | to be perfect with one thought, namely, the confession of Thy Name and Thy holy faith. Make Thou us worthy to be counted among the holy martyrs, even as were the Three Holy Children, whom Thou didst try by fire and they denied Thee not. In this manner do Thou receive us unto Thyself, through this fire, as a sacrifice well-pleasing unto Thee, and because we make ourselves to be also an offering by fire. And Lord, do Thou grant a favour and a gift unto our bodies, so that every one who shall commemorate us shall receive a gift in the kingdom of heaven, and also a time of rest upon earth. And if those who are in peril on the sea, or by waters of any kind, cry unto Thy Holy Name, do Thou deliver them from their danger. And if those who are [burdened] with manifold sins cast themselves down before Thee in Thy Name, do Thou forgive them their sins. And to every one who shall commemorate us on the day [called after] our name, be Thou, O Lord, a helper. Let the threat of the fire which is round about us become unto us the dew

Fol. 21 b

ⲁⲁⲁ

of refreshing, so that our bodies, O Lord, may gain | strength thereby.’

And whilst they were saying these words and were praying they heard a voice from heaven, saying, ‘Inasmuch as ye have been mighty athletes in this life, and ye have endured patiently manifold trials, fear ye not at this present, and

come ye into this place in peace. Ye shall receive an indestructible crown, and ye shall enjoy yourselves with the good things which have been prepared for you for ever, in the place of the sufferings that ye have endured, and the trials which ye have borne patiently and which were only for a time.' And when the saints had heard these things they delivered themselves joyfully over to the soldiers, who cast them into the brazen instrument. And having been thrown in the flame of fire enveloped them, and they ascribed glory unto the Holy Trinity, unto Whom victory belongeth, and after a short time they delivered up their souls into the hands of God. And the fire did not touch (or, seorch) their bodies in the least degree, nor the hair of their heads.

And after three days the wicked Emperor Hadrian | came Fol. 22 a  
to the place wherein the saints had finished [their fight], and ✠  
he commanded that the brazen bull should be opened, so that  
he might be able to see what had happened to the saints.  
And when it had been opened they found the bodies of the  
saints in a perfect state of preservation, and there were no  
marks of destruction whatever in them, and they seemed to  
be still alive. And when they had brought them out and  
laid them on the ground, great awe and wonder came upon  
every one who stood nigh unto them, and the bodies of the  
saints were brilliantly white like snow. And the polluted  
Hadrian looked upon them, and he was filled with wonder,  
and was afraid, and he went away. And the multitude who  
were standing there cried out, saying, 'Great art Thou, O God  
of the Christians! Thou art indeed the only Great God,  
Jesus the Christ, and there is no other god besides Thee.  
For Thou didst not permit any harm to reach the bodies of  
[these] saints, nay, they have become brilliantly white and  
shining, and they send forth great light with glory and  
gladness.'

And when the evening had come the Christians came and Fol. 22 b  
carried away the bodies of the martyred saints, | and they ✠

laid them in an honourable place secretly in the city of Rome. And after the persecution [of them had died away] they built over them a martyrium, and they celebrated festivals therein with hymns and doxologies, according to the custom of the Christians. And they commemorated the holy deaths of these glorious martyrs on the twentieth day of the month of December, which is Thoth, according to the language of the inhabitants of Egypt.

Such is the history of the life and contest of these blessed and holy martyrs, that is to say, Apa Eustathius, and Apa Agapius and Apa Theopistus, his sons, and Amma Theopistê, his wife. Here endeth the account of their strife. Now every one who shall be worthy to celebrate the holy commemoration [of these saints], and who shall invoke them, shall receive the good things of the kingdom which is in the heavens, through the grace and love for man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to Whom be glory, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

—...—...—...—...—...—...—

At the bottom of the page is written—

‘Victor the deacon, the least [of men], the son of the blessed Mercurius, the deacon.’

## THE LIFE OF APA CYRUS

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

THE LIFE AND CONVERSATION OF OUR SAINTED FATHER, WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERY-  
THING, SAINT APA CYRUS, THE PERFECT GOVERNOR, WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY APA PAMBO,<sup>1</sup> THE ELDER OF THE CHURCH OF SHIËT.<sup>2</sup> SAINT APA CYRUS DIED ON THE EIGHTH DAY OF THE MONTH EPEIPH.<sup>3</sup> IN THE PEACE OF GOD. MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING COME UPON US, AND MAY WE BE SAVED! AMEN.

AND it came to pass in the time of Apa Pambo, the elder of the church of Shiët, after he had protected (?) the body of the blessed woman Hellaria<sup>4</sup> (Hillaria), the daughter of the Emperor Zeno,<sup>5</sup> that a vision was shewn to him, [and a voice said unto him,] ‘ Rise up, and go thou into the district which is on the sea-coast, and thou shalt enquire for the anchorite, of whose sandals there is not in the whole world any one who is worthy to unloose the latchets.’ And the blessed | Apa Pambo rose up and went into the desert in the strength of God which was with him, even as it was with the blessed Antonius<sup>6</sup> at the time when he was on his journey

<sup>1</sup> Not the great Pambo, for he died about 390.

<sup>2</sup> The chief church of the monks in the Scete Desert. See Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. ii; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i, p. 451; Amélineau, *Géog.*, p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> June-July.

<sup>4</sup> See Crum, *Catalogue of Coptic MSS.*, p. 364, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> Emperor of the East, 474-91.

<sup>6</sup> Antony the Great, who lived from 250 to 350.

to go to (i.e. visited) the blessed man Apa Paulus a second time.

And the blessed elder Apa Pambo rose up and went into the desert, and he came to the cell of a monk, and he stood still and knocked at the door for a considerable space of time, and he cried out three times, according to the rules of the monkish brethren, saying, 'Bless me!' And whilst I, Pambo, was standing at the door, the brother made answer to me inside, saying, 'Hail, Pambo, the elder of the church of Shiêt, thou mighty ship that sailest over the desert that is without water. Behold, I have eagerly desired to see thee for a very long time! Behold, God hath fulfilled for me my wish this day! Come in, O blessed man!' And Apa Pambo answered,

Fol. 24 a saying, 'Hail thou, Apa Hierax, who hast | become a companion of the angels of God by reason of thy purity.' And **ⲁⲓⲗ** Apa Hierax opened the door, and brought in Apa Pambo, and they sat down together. And Apa Pambo said unto him, 'My beloved brother Apa Hierax, behold, is it very many years since thou didst come to this place?' And Apa Hierax said unto Pambo, 'Behold, I have been in this place eighteen years, and I have never eaten any of the foods which are usually eaten in this world, but I have lived upon the fruit of trees.' Now there was a palm-tree growing outside that cell, and it produced twelve clusters, one cluster each month, and he lived upon the fruit thereof. And I, Pambo, said unto him, 'My beloved father, are there any brethren living beyond thee in the desert?' And Apa Hierax said, 'There are some; bless me, and get thee gone to them, and receive a blessing at their hands.'

And having departed from him into the mountain I came to a small cell of a monk, and I called into it according to the rule of the monkish brethren. And as I stood outside it,

Fol. 24 b the brother made answer unto me from the inside, | saying, **ⲁⲓⲗ** 'Hail, Apa Pambo, the elder of the church of Shiêt, thou mighty ship that sailest over the desert that is without

water, behold, I have longed eagerly to see thee for many days. At last hath God fulfilled my wish for me this day; come inside, and do not stand outside.' And I made answer to him, 'I am Pambo, O my beloved father Pamoun. . . . . my lord! <sup>1</sup> Hail, my beloved brother, unto whom belongeth the coat of many colours, which is like unto the coat of Joseph the righteous man. And before God it is more precious than all the purple of the kings of this world.' Believe me, O my brethren and fathers, I, Pambo, the least of all men, smelled the sweet odour of that brother for a mile before I came to the place where he was. And when we had saluted each other, we offered up prayer, and we sat down. And I said unto him, 'My father, I know that thou must be cold in winter, and thou wilt not be burnt up with the heat in the summer, when wearing a tunic of this kind.' And Apa Pamoun said unto me, . . . . . because this, most certainly, is its name, | O my beloved brother Apa Fol. 25 a  
Pambo. Believe me, O my beloved father, behold, it is 116  
twenty years ago since I came to this place, and with this single garment I have found means to keep myself warm during the winter, and to moderate the heat of the atmosphere in summer time. And I confess unto thee that this tunic will suffice for me until the day of my death; and, moreover, when I am dead it will be large enough for them to roll me up in it until the day of the Judgement of Truth.' And I said unto him, 'My beloved father, is there any brother living beyond thee in the desert?' And he said unto me, 'There is one brother the latchet of one of whose sandals all the whole world is not worthy to unloose. I myself went to him many times, wishing to visit him, and he used to answer me from the inside of his cell, saying, "Get thee gone! In coming hither thou hast given thyself trouble [to no purpose]. No man of flesh shall see my face, except the elder of the church of Shiêt." And now, O my father, perhaps it was ordained for

<sup>1</sup> παμμπορ occurs again in l. 19.

thee to take me with thee, so that I may receive a blessing at  
 Fol. 25 *b* his hands before I die.' | And I said unto him, 'Nay, it is not  
 II ordained thus, and it is not for this purpose that I have come  
 to this place. But I will remember thee if the Lord maketh  
 straight my way so that I may meet that brother. And,  
 O my father, do thou remember me until I shall enjoy the  
 blessing of that brother.'

And when I had journeyed into the mountain about the  
 distance of a mile—now I, Pambo, the least of men, swear  
 unto thee by the awful throne of God, and I do not lie in  
 what I am going to say—the being who seized the pro-  
 phet Habakkuk in ancient days, and carried him, and the  
 food which was in his hands, and brought him to the pit  
 of the lions [when] Habakkuk gave it (i. e. the food) to  
 Daniel<sup>1</sup> who was in the pit of the lions, this same being,  
 I say, seized me under the impulse of the Spirit, and brought  
 me to the little habitation of that brother. And I knocked at  
 the door, according to the rule of the monkish brethren, and  
 I stood still at the door for a long time. And after these

Fol. 26 *a* things the brother answered me from within, saying, | 'Hail,  
 IIAPA Pambo, thou elder of the church of Shiêt, thou mighty  
 ship that sailest over the desert that is without water.  
 Behold, for very many days I have eagerly desired to see  
 thee. Behold, this day hath God fulfilled my desire. Come  
 in, and stand not outside.' And when I was passing in  
 through the door of the little habitation I looked, and I saw  
 a mighty stone, which twelve men were trying to move, and  
 they could only lift it with the greatest difficulty. And that  
 brother advanced, and rolled the stone along, and fixed it  
 at the door of the habitation; and when I saw this I marvelled  
 exceedingly. Then I remembered the patriarch Jacob, and  
 how he, when he fled from the face of Esau his brother, went  
 into Mesopotamia of Syria, and how when he had arrived  
 at the place wherein were the sheep of Laban he went up to

<sup>1</sup> Bel and the Dragon, 33 ff.



the well, and rolled away the stone <sup>1</sup> which was on the mouth thereof, | without any man giving him assistance, and how Fol. 26 b  
 he watered the sheep of Laban and then sent them away to nñ  
 feed. And finally I understood that in everything that the saints perform it is God Who helpeth them.

And I said unto him, ‘O my holy father, shew me thy holy name, for God hath hidden this from me.’ And he said, ‘Cyrus is my name. I am the brother of the Emperor Theodosius, and I was reared and fed at the same table as Arcadius and Honorius. And, indeed, many, many times hath Honorius said unto me, “Take me with thee into the desert, and I will become a monk”; but I did not wish to take him with me, because he is a son of the Emperor. And when we saw that oppression (or, violence) had multiplied, and that the Emperors were committing sin, and that the rulers were robbing the poor, and that every one was turning out of the straight road, and making corrupt his path before God, I rose up, and I set out and I came to this desert, and I took up my abode therein because of the multitude of my sins. May God forgive me these!’ |

And I, Pambo, said unto him, ‘My beloved father, where Fol. 27 a  
 wilt thou find men in this desert place to comfort thee in thy nñ  
 sufferings?’ And Apa Cyrus said unto me, ‘Believe me, O my beloved brother, Apa Pambo, my God and my Lord Jesus Christ are Those Who visit me in this desert wherein I live. For I have never seen a man who came to me except a certain brother who was a monk, and who came hither wishing to see my face; besides such an one I have never seen any one. On the contrary, when any one came hither, whilst he remained outside I commanded him from inside this abode, saying, “Get thee gone, thou hast troubled thyself [to no purpose] in coming to me.” Most assuredly no man of flesh shall see my face except Apa Pambo, the elder of the church of Shiêt. This matter hath, however,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxix. 3.

taken place through the dispensation of God, and now, behold, God hath fulfilled for me my wish this day.'

And I said unto him, 'My brother, is there any other brother beyond thee in the desert?' He said unto me, 'There is nothing beyond me except darkness and the punishments which sinners are enduring. Sit thou down  
 Fol. 27<sup>b</sup> in | this place, O my brother, in this hour, and thou shalt  
 see mighty wonders.' And when the light of the Lord's Day had spread abroad, I heard voices crying out, 'Thy love is accepted, O Christ; Thou hast shewn mercy unto us.' And I said unto him, 'My beloved father, what shall we do in respect of these things? The mountain is crumbling away under us.' And he said unto me, 'Be not afraid, O my son, that God will come down for the sake of punishments. He hath commanded the angels who inflict punishments upon souls to give them a respite, for to-day is the Lord's Day, and [the day of] the Resurrection of the Lord.' And he also said unto me, 'Peradventure the Christ will come into this place to-day according to His wont, and I shall be able to kiss Him, mouth to mouth.'

And whilst he was saying these things, behold, the Christ opened the door of the habitation, and He came in; now the  
 Fol. 28<sup>a</sup> door opened straightway of its own accord. And when | He  
 had come in, believe me, O my brethren and fathers, I, Pambo, the least of men, saw the Christ go up to that brother and kiss him, mouth to mouth, even as doth a brother who hath arrived from a strange region when he meeteth his friend. And as for me, Pambo, the least of men, I was not worthy that He should kiss me then, and He went forth from our midst and we did not know whither He had gone. And I thought that He was a brother monk. And I said unto Cyrus, 'My beloved father, didst not thou tell me just now that no being of flesh hath ever come to thee in this place except myself? If this be so shew me now who this brother monk was Who came in and kissed thee, I myself being

unworthy that He should kiss me.' And he said unto me, 'Didst thou not know who He was?' And I said unto him, 'No, my father, I did not. How should I know who He was?' And he said unto me, 'This | was the Lord of the things that Fol. 28  
are in heaven, and of the things that are upon the earth. πϛ  
This was the Son of Mary, the Holy Virgin. This was He Who filleth the desert, and every one who calleth upon Him.' And he also said unto me, 'A great prophet and Archimandrite hath died this day, that is to say, Apa Shenoute<sup>1</sup> the elder; the whole world is punished this day, for he was a very great teacher, and this day is the seventh of the month Epêph.' And he also said unto me, 'This is the man who did not lie down on his bed, nor slumber, nor sleep until he found the place of the Lord, the habitation of the God of Jacob, his Helper.<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as he fought splendidly he conquered the Devil in [this] world and hath departed to his Lord, and he shall be perfect in the kingdom which is in the heavens. May his blessing and his prayer be with us! Amen.'

And he also said unto me, 'My beloved brother Pambo, I am sick this day. I beseech thee to do me the favour of praying for me until I journey over the road of fear and terror.' And I said unto him, 'My beloved father, art thou, even thou, afraid, notwithstanding all the multitude | of Fol. 29 a  
ascetic labours which thou hast performed in this world?' πζ  
He said unto me, 'I have performed a few of the ascetic labours which God appointed for me, it is true, but how is it possible for us not to be afraid of the things which have been indicated to us by very many witnesses, that is to say, the river of fire, and the appearance before the Judge? And as for that river, every one is bound to pass over it, whether he be a righteous man or whether he be a sinner, and it is right that thou shouldst pray on my behalf until I journey

<sup>1</sup> He was born in 333 and died at midday early in July, 451, aged about 118 years.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ps. cxxxii. 4, 5.

over that terrible road.' And he spake unto me again, saying, 'If a man's life upon this earth were to consist of one day only, he would not be free from sin. And, moreover, all flesh shall be purged by the fire.'<sup>1</sup>

And it came to pass that at the third hour of the eighth day of the month Epêph he became very ill indeed, and he said unto me, 'I salute thee in the Lord, O my beloved brother.' And thus saying he prayed, and he recited the prayer in the Gospel, and he opened his mouth, and yielded up his spirit, like one who lieth asleep. And I sat down, and I wept continuously over him. And as I was weeping over him, behold, the Christ opened the door of the cell, and He

Fol. 29<sup>b</sup> came in, and He stood up by the body | of the blessed Apa  
 IIIH Cyrus, and He wept over him, and I wept over him. And I saw the tears of the Christ which fell upon the body of the blessed Apa Cyrus; and the Christ turned away and departed by the door of the abode. And when He had gone out I saw a multitude of Angels, and Archangels, and Apostles, and all the righteous, standing there. And one of them came towards me; now he was lame, and he said unto me, 'Knowest thou who I am?' And I said unto him, 'Nay, my lord, I do not.' He said unto me, 'Hearken, [and] I will shew thee. I am Kêpha, unto whom they gave the name of Peter. I am he whom the Christ called in the Gospel "Bar Iôna," that is to say, "Son of the dove."<sup>2</sup> The blessed Apa Shenoute went to his rest yesterday. He (i.e. Christ) hath taken the soul of the blessed man Apa Cyrus, and [the soul of] Apa Shenoute, the Archimandrite, to the place of rest, even as it is written,

Fol. 30<sup>a</sup> "There are many mansions in the house | of My Father."<sup>3</sup>  
 IIO May their holy blessing be with us! Amen.'

And after these things, whilst I was pondering in my heart and trying to think what I should do with the body of the blessed man, and whether I should bury it, and where I should lay it, the Saviour came forth from the door of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare 1 Cor. iii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 17.

<sup>3</sup> John xiv. 2.

cell, and closed the door behind Him. And the Saviour had His hand upon the door of the cell, and He was dragging the body of the blessed man, and He became unto him a place of defence until the day of the Righteous Judgement. And the Saviour went up into heaven with His angels. And I walked and came forth to the brethren Apa Pamoun and Apa Hierax, and I told them of the things which I had seen, and they glorified God. And I remained with them for a few days.

After these things I departed to my monastery in Shiêt, and I wrote the life of the blessed man Apa Cyrus, and I placed it in the church of Shiêt, for the profit and consolation of those who should hear it [read], and to the glory of the Holy Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever! Amen.

THE ENCOMIUM OF FLAVIANUS, BISHOP  
OF EPHESUS, ON DEMETRIUS, ARCH-  
BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

Fol. 30<sup>b</sup> THE ENCOMIUM WHICH OUR SAINTED FATHER  
3 FLAVIANUS, BISHOP OF THE CITY OF  
EPHESUS, PRONOUNCED UPON SAINT DEME-  
TRIUS,<sup>1</sup> ARCHBISHOP OF RAKOTE, ON THE  
DAY OF HIS GLORIOUS COMMEMORATION,  
WHICH IS THE TWENTIETH DAY OF THE  
MONTH THOTH. AND HE SPAKE ALSO CON-  
CERNING THE MIRACLES WHICH GOD  
WROUGHT BY HIS HAND. AND HE SPAKE  
ALSO IN THIS SAME ENCOMIUM CONCERN-  
ING THE SAINT, AND MARTYR, AND VIRGIN,  
APA PETER,<sup>2</sup> ARCHBISHOP OF THIS SAME  
CITY RAKOTE. AND [HE SPAKE ALSO] CON-  
CERNING THE HOLY WOMAN WHO WAS A  
NATIVE OF THE CITY OF ANTIOCH AND  
A MARTYR, AND HER TWO SONS PHILOPATOR  
AND EUTROPIUS. AND HE SPAKE ALSO  
CONCERNING THE IMPULSE OF THE SOUL,  
AND CONCERNING THE PASSAGE WHICH IS  
WRITTEN IN [THE BOOK OF] JEREMIAH THE  
PROPHET, WHICH SAITH, 'IN THAT DAY I  
WILL ESTABLISH SUNRISE (OR, MORNING)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The successor of Julianus ; he sat from 189 to 231-2.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop of Alexandria, who sat from 289 to 295.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Jer. xxi. 12.

IN THE HOUSE OF DAVID.' IN THE PEACE  
OF GOD. AMEN.

THE occasion moveth me to set in motion the organ of my halting tongue, and my infirm mouth, | and it maketh me Fol. 31 a to say with the Psalmist David, the Singer of God, 'Thou 2a visitest the earth, Thou makest it to produce food, Thou multipliest in great abundance the riches [thereof]. The river of God is full of water. Thou preparest their food.'<sup>1</sup> This is our preparation in truth. He hath visited the earth, He hath made it to produce food, He hath multiplied the riches [thereof] in great abundance. If material wine be the joy of men, the which when they drink it to excess causeth them to become drunk, and there is arrogance therein, how very much more joy and gladness will those men have who have drunk of the Fountain of living water, the Christ! If the earth rejoiceth when the water of heaven cometh upon it, how much more joy and gladness shall men [feel] at the moment when the waters of understanding fall upon the grass of the mind! Now the waters which are manifest yield fruits which are manifest, and are of fleshly character; and when the waters of the Spirit have descended upon the earth of men they yield fruits of the Spirit. Of what kind now are these fruits? Hearken and I will tell you; only ye must neither feel any doubt [about what I say], nor must ye murmur. | One church only hath closed [its door]: Fol. 31 b I speak of the synagogue of the Jews, but I do not call 2b this truly a spiritual church, because it hath shut its door against Him that rose from the dead, and hath taken His seat on the right hand of His Father. He became man at His command, and the things which have been opened unto us through His holy Blood, which He shed for us, are thousands of thousands, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands. Now the fruits to which I have already alluded

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxv. 9.

are these: continence, purity, virginity, compassion, peace, hope, long-suffering, obedience,<sup>1</sup> et cetera. These are the things which the spiritual meadow produceth through the spiritual rain which falleth upon it.

And, moreover, now is the time for me to say with the prophet and law-giver Moses, 'Let us ascribe glory unto the Lord, for He hath gotten glory.'<sup>2</sup> If those who lived in days of old marvelled when they saw their enemies dying in the sea,<sup>3</sup> why should I not marvel when I behold Him that

Fol. 32<sup>a</sup>

3<sup>a</sup>

died for us, | and rose [from the dead], until He had humbled pride? Assuredly then I will set in motion the organ of my tongue, and I will declare a few glorious things concerning the saint in whose name we are gathered together, for he was a father who loved his children, and a shepherd who pastured his sheep wisely. He was clothed with the foundation of virtue, virginity, and holy matrimony.

But perhaps some one will tell me that it is not possible for a man to become a virgin after he hath married a wife; let that some one hearken, and I will give him an absolute proof that this is possible from Holy Scripture. I myself say, with our Saviour, that there exist some who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom which is in the heavens.<sup>4</sup> Those who were born eunuchs from their mother's womb to those the name of eunuch certainly belongeth, but as concerning the man who hath made himself an eunuch, who is able to declare adequately his valour? The acts of David,<sup>5</sup> when he destroyed Goliath with his armour and weapons of war upon him, and when the people applauded him with sympathy, are wholly different from the valour of the man who hath made himself an eunuch.

Fol. 32<sup>b</sup>

3<sup>b</sup>

But now, when once David had destroyed him, | without armour and without spear, Goliath was dead once and for all, even as every other person who dieth, and [he obtained]

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gal. v. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. xv. 1-12.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xix. 12.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Sam. xvii. 4 ff.



the prize which belongeth to the victors. Even so is it in the case of a man if he has been born an eunuch ; he striveth, but languidly, and without the strength which is shewn by the man who striveth, being in possession of all his members. Now David destroyed the lion and the bear,<sup>1</sup> once, or twice, and even three times, but Demetrius the Archbishop destroyed his lusts every day. He who fighteth with wild beasts is not as valiant as the man who fighteth against passion. When the wild beast devoureth a man the man is no longer forthcoming to fight with him again. On the other hand, the lust to which a man giveth place in himself never ceaseth to crush him all day and every day, and it increaseth in him until it destroyeth him. And the wise men who were continent knew that this is so, and it was because of this very thing that they fled into the desert.

Let us, however, turn our discourse to this holy man Demetrius, and we will now make known unto you his virtues and his valour. Now this | holy man Demetrius Fol. 33 a was descended from a great and very old and famous family 3e in the city of Rakote. And after Saint Julianus, the Archbishop of Rakote, was dead,<sup>2</sup> the throne of Rakote remained empty for many days, and there was no bishop, and no man sat on the archiepiscopal throne, because it was the period during which lawless and idol-worshipping Emperors reigned. A great persecution of the Church was in progress, and the people were like unto the sheep that are without a shepherd. However, by the Will of God, and by the votes of the whole congregation, they laid hold of a second Joseph, I mean Saint Demetrius, and they enthroned him on the throne of Saint Mark the Evangelist.

But, perchance, thou who art listening to me wilt say, 'Thou mayest compare this holy man to Joseph, but thou must not compare the wife of this holy and wise man to that worthless woman who bore ill will towards the holy man

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xvii. 34-6.

<sup>2</sup> He became Bishop of Alexandria in 179.

Fol. 33<sup>b</sup> Joseph, I mean the wife of the Egyptian.' Most | certainly  
 35 not, and far be it from me to do so. But forgive me,  
 O Christ-loving congregation. If Joseph had lain with the  
 Egyptian woman, it would have been a sin to him, for it  
 would have been fornication that he was committing, and it  
 was for this very reason that he kept his body pure in respect  
 of God Who had created him. Now in the case of Saint  
 Demetrius, even if he had lain with his wife, it would not  
 have been sin unto him, because they had been joined together  
 by God. But, notwithstanding my answer, thou wilt say  
 unto me in any case, 'He was a bishop, and it was not  
 seemly for him to take a wife.' Speak not in this wise,  
 O brother, for the holy Canons of the Apostles speak thus:  
 'If a head hath a wife who was married to him before he  
 became a bishop, he shall not put her away after he hath  
 become a bishop, but let him remain with her.' And the  
 holy Apostle used to say, 'Marriage is honourable in every-  
 thing, and the marriage bed is pure, [but] the whoremonger  
 and the adulterer shall God judge.'<sup>1</sup> Therefore this holy man

Fol. 34<sup>a</sup> Demetrius | hath triumphed, according to what we said.  
 38 When, therefore, they had enthroned him upon the episcopal  
 throne, . . . . .<sup>2</sup> he loved to act in this way:  
 He never upbraided a man. And he was in the habit of  
 saying, 'My son, go and withdraw thyself from whatever  
 kind of sin it is which thou art committing, and afterwards  
 [come] and partake of the Holy Mysteries.' And when he  
 had continued to act in this manner for a considerable time  
 the whole city withdrew itself from sin to such an extent that  
 hardly any sin was committed. If any man saw another  
 committing a sin he would rebuke him, saying, 'Withdraw  
 thyself from this act lest the Archbishop turn aside from  
 thee, and the whole congregation will look at thee'; and  
 that sinner would become afraid and would continue to be

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xiii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The text is corrupt here ; several words are missing.

so; and for this reason very many ceased entirely to commit sin.

Nevertheless, there be many a quarrelsome man who will say, 'Hath not this Demetrius his wife with him?' And he will also say these words: 'All the people were scandalized, and there was murmuring because of him, because [until this man did so] no one had sat upon the archiepiscopal throne of Saint Mark | the Evangelist, who was no virgin.' However, Fol. 34 b  
there are some who understand the Scriptures who will say to ΣΗ  
those who utter these words, 'Marriage is honourable in every way, and the marriage bed is pure, and it is God Who instituted marriage: what aileth you that ye murmur against the Archbishop?' But in spite of these words those [who murmur] do not wish to be persuaded, and they say, 'This man Demetrius who hath seated himself on the archiepiscopal throne is the twelfth, and of them all only this man hath had a wife.' But it is God Himself, the Good, Who did not wish the [virtue of the] holy man to remain hidden, and He desired to make him manifest, and [to make him] to be glorified by the people, according to what He said in the Gospel, 'Men do not light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but they place it upon a candlestick, so that it may give light to all those who are in the house.'<sup>1</sup>

And the matter was revealed to the Archbishop when he was lying asleep one night, for behold, the Angel of God appeared unto him, and he said unto him, 'Demetrius, Demetrius, seek not only thine own happiness, but that of thy neighbour. And remember what the Lord spake in the | Gospel, saying, "The good shepherd layeth down his Fol. 35 a  
life for his sheep."<sup>2</sup> And the holy man Demetrius said unto ΣΘ  
the Angel, 'What is it, O my Lord? What is it that Thou wouldst command me to do? If Thou wishest to send me forth to martyrdom, am I not ready to pour out my blood for the Name of my Lord Jesus the Christ?' The Angel

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 15; Luke viii. 16; xi. 33.

<sup>2</sup> John x. 11-16.

said unto him, 'Hearken unto me, O Demetrius. The Christ became man because He loved us, and because of this He also redeemed His people. Now, therefore, is it a right thing for thee to cause a scandal among the people over whom God hath set thee?' The Archbishop said unto the Angel, 'My Lord, shew me my sin, and I will withdraw myself from it.' The Angel said unto him, 'The mystery which is between thee and thy wife must be made manifest unto the whole congregation.' Demetrius said, 'I beseech thee, O my Lord, let me die before Thee, only let not this thing be, and do not let any man have knowledge thereof.' The Angel said unto him, 'Thou knowest, O Demetrius, what is written, namely, "The disobedient shall end in destruction."<sup>1</sup> Rise thou up then |

Fol. 35 b  
 5 early in the morning, and after thou hast administered the Sacrament gather together all the elergy, and all the business folk, and shew them the mystery which existeth between thee and thy wife.' And when the Angel had said these things unto him he disappeared from him.

And when the morning had come, now it was the Day of Pentecost, the Archbishop made ready to celebrate the Catholic Synaxis. Now on that day he used to expound passages of the Scriptures to the congregation with his holy mouth, and after the people had received the Holy Mysteries he would complete the Liturgy. And the Archbishop commanded the Archdeacon not to allow any member of the congregation to leave the church, but to gather them all together in the council chamber, saying, 'The Archbishop biddeth me say: Let not one of you depart to his house, for I have somewhat to say unto thee.' And when they had all taken their seats in the council chamber the Archbishop commanded [his servant] to gather together a large quantity  
 Fol. 36 a  
 5A of wood, and he made them bring in fire and | set light to the wood. And the congregation marvelled what this thing meant. Then the Papa said, 'Rise up, let us pray';

<sup>1</sup> Compare Job xxi. 30; Ps. xxxvii. 38; 2 Thess. i. 8, 9.

and when they had prayed they sat down. And the Papa said unto them, 'I invoke your love so that your servant, that is to say, my wife, may come forth, and enjoy your blessing.' And they marvelled, and said, 'Whatsoever our father commandeth, let it take place.' Then the Archbishop called one of his servants, and said unto him, 'Go and call the servant of these holy men, that is to say, my wife.'

And when the holy woman heard [these words] she came into the midst of the brethren. Then the Archbishop rose up and looked round upon all present, and he stood up on the blazing pieces of wood of the fire, and he spread out his tunic, and took some of the burning coals in his hands and threw them into it. And all the brethren who were sitting in the council chamber marvelled at the large quantity of fire which he put into his tunic, and why it did not catch fire. Then he told his wife to spread out her tunic and her | other garment, and the holy man transferred the coals of fire to her garment, and she remained standing there before him in the midst of the fire, and neither she nor her apparel was burnt. And the Archbishop said a second time, 'Let us pray'; and the coals of fire were in his garment, and he was not burnt.

Fol. 36 b  
ob

Hearken ye now unto me. Ye marvel at me, O my brethren, because I say that when a man hath made himself an eunuch he is more glorious than the man who was an eunuch when he was born. It was because of this very thing that these saints were not burnt, for they had extinguished the flame of the fire of lust; let us then not be troubled at the words. Let us return now and finish the narrative, which will glorify God. When they had prayed, and were seated, the clergy said unto the Archbishop, 'We entreat thee and the holy woman to explain unto us the meaning of this symbolic act which thou hast performed, for we are all wondering about the matter, and what it meaneth.' And the Archbishop said unto them, 'Hearken unto me, and I

will shew you. For I have not done this thing with the view of seeking after the praise of men. I am sixty years of age this day, and the woman whom ye see is more than fifty-one. Her father died when she was a little girl, and |

Fol. 37 a the brother of her father, who was my father, brought her to  
 our house; she was an only child, just as I myself am an only child, and we were brought up together in the same house. And when I was fifteen years of age my parents wished to betroth me to her, in the first place naturally because we were brethren of each other (i. e. cousins), and secondly because, according to the pride of this world, we did not wish any stranger to enter our family and take any part of our inheritance. And when we had celebrated our marriage, it was incumbent upon me, as it befitteth men, to go in unto her. And when we were lying together she said unto me, "My brother, a brother ought not to marry [his] sister"; and I said unto her, "Assuredly not." And she said unto me, "Why then have they given us each to the other? Am I not thy sister?" And I said unto her, "If thou wilt hearken unto me, O my sister, we shall live in a world where they shall never separate us, the one from the other. But if I take thee to wife in this world, I shall be separated from thee by death, and thou wilt be separated from me. If we keep our bodies holy in purity we shall never leave each other in the Jerusalem which is in the heavens." And when she had heard these words from me we made a compact together

Fol. 37 b to keep our bodies | unpolluted. And my parents did not  
 know of [this] conversation, but they told the men who were in the bride-chamber to bring to them the tokens of the virginity of the bride, according to the custom which, as ye well know, men observe in this matter. And these men persuaded our parents, saying, "They are mere children still," and by reason of these words our parents ceased to make enquiries concerning our affairs.

'And when our parents were dead we remained together,

both being orphans. Then as for these three children which we . . . . . for ourselves, it was God Who ordained them . . . . each other. And the same covering which clothed (or, covered) us both . . . . each other except at the time when the woman separateth from the man.<sup>1</sup> And the Lord Who shall judge the living and the dead, and Who knoweth what is hidden in the heart, knoweth that I have never known this woman, and that she hath never known me. I am only the husband of us two in appearance, and as for the carnal intercourse of this world which taketh place on a bed I have no knowledge of it whatsoever. Moreover, when we used to lie together in bed, we used to see a creature | like unto an Fol. 38 a  
eagle flying in the air, and he would come and sing over the oe  
bed whereon we two were lying; and me he used to place under his right wing, and the woman under his left wing. In the daytime when it was light he would depart, and we used to see him going away. Do not think that I am seeking after the praise of men, for I am not, and it would not be my wish to tell you these things if it had not been that He Who wisheth to be profitable unto every man, namely, God, the Lover of man, hath commanded me to do so.' And when he had said these things they cast themselves down at his feet, saying, 'O our father, thou art the most noble of all created things!' And after these things he commanded his wife to depart to her own quarter, and having prayed he dismissed the other people, and each one departed to his house in peace.

Now do not your hearts leap when ye hear of miracles of this kind? And do ye not wonder at this holy man, who passed his whole life with his wife, and restrained himself | from union with her? Where are the men now, who, Fol. 38 b  
although they have their wives, practise fornication, and oe  
who [at the same time] proclaim emphatically 'We are Christians?' Let them come hither now, and let them be

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the passage παι ὡμοῦν—ἄ πρὸς τ is not clear to me.

ashamed when they see their father Demetrius, the holy Archbishop, saying, 'We know nothing of each other, except the face.' O thou who dost set the combat, thou fighter against passion, Saint Demetrius, O my father, did not thy heart leap within thee when thou didst gaze upon the exceedingly great beauty of thy wife? Did not the tender softness of her body cause thine understanding to totter? For thou wast, after all, only a youth. When thou didst talk with her and there was none present with thee, did not he who shooteth arrows of evil shoot arrows into thee? He said, 'I am a man myself, and I am clothed with flesh like every other man.' But hearken, and I will shew thee [what Demetrius said], 'Whensoever my heart used to stir me up to passion, I used to remember the vows which I swore to keep to the Christ, saying, "I will never break them, for if I do He will deny me before His Father

Fol. 39<sup>a</sup>

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and His | holy angels." Whensoever I remembered the softness of her body, I used to remember how the flesh of men goeth to corruption in the tomb, and the foetid humour which it giveth forth. And, not permitting our mouth to utter any strange thing, we were afraid of the destruction caused by the fire and flame of Gehenna which exist in Amente, and [we remembered that] those who are therein wish to open their mouth to its fullest extent, and that they cannot open it.'

And I make mention, O God-loving Council, of what I said in the opening paragraphs [of this discourse], namely, this pure man of this kind is far more excellent than he who slayeth a lion and a bear. And, moreover, one of the philosophers saith, 'He who destroyeth a lion is not a strong man, and he who destroyeth a panther is not a mighty man; but he who killeth himself, and is guiltless of beguilement of women, is the strongest of all.' Now Joseph the patriarch lived in the house of the Egyptian, and the matter is manifest, namely, that that sinful woman was bad and that



she associated herself with him daily until she found an opportunity [to tempt] him. As for thee, O holy man, Demetrius, they contended against thee daily through thy understanding. If I wished to do so, I could prolong my discourse to you, and relate further to you concerning the virtues, and the miracles, and the mighty power of this holy man! I know, however, | that his honour is in the heavens Fol. 39 b  
before Him Who became man, for our sakes, through Mary OH  
the Virgin. Verily thou didst effect thy escape, thou didst keep the faith, and now thou dost make supplication for us in the place wherein thou art. If I wished to multiply speech unto you, I could relate unto you the miracles which God set in operation by the hands of this holy man, Demetrius, the holy Archbishop, but I am well aware of my feebleness, and of the utter impotence of my halting and poor words.

Let us however turn to another case (i. e. subject). We will now bring forward the case of a man who was arrayed in three virtues, namely, virginity, and the rank of the high priesthood, and the rank of the martyr. Now who was this saint? It was Peter, the Archbishop of Rakote. In times past he had been a worshipper of idols, and had performed the duties of an office under the lawless Emperor Diocletian, who gave the order | to pull down the churches everywhere. And Fol. 40 a  
there was nothing which he did openly against the service OH  
of holiness in Rakote, because the Archbishop Peter, the holy man, did not regard the face of men, but he paid good heed to Him Who said, 'Fear not those who can kill your bodies, but who are not able to kill your souls.'<sup>1</sup> For this reason he was exceedingly courageous, and he used to say to the clergy, 'Let not the suspicion of men separate you from the Christ.'<sup>2</sup>

Now there was at that time a certain man in Antioch whose name was Zôkratôr, and this man was in no wise a companion of Apatêr, who went to Egypt and became a martyr. And this Zôkratôr was originally a Christian who

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Rom. viii. 35-9.

had been baptized, but he had withdrawn himself [from the Christians]; and he was a hypocrite, and he hated the Christians exceedingly. And he had a wife who was a Christian, and whose name was Marturia, and she had borne him two sons, the elder of whom was called Philopator, and the younger Eutropius. And when the boys had grown up, |

Fol. 40 b

̅̅̅ and were of a suitable age for baptism, they wished to be baptized according to the ordinance of the Christians. And the wife spake unto her husband, saying, 'I beseech thee, O my brother, to come with me to the city of Rakote that we may have our children baptized, lest they die before they have received the baptism of God, for God will be wroth with us if we neglect the souls of our children.' And Zôkratôr said unto his wife, 'Hold thy peace, my sister—now thou knowest that a persecution [of the Christians] is in progress at the present time—lest the Emperor hear of it, and destroy us.' And when he had said these words she was afraid to leave her children unbaptized. And when she knew that he would not be persuaded by her to do what she thought [to be right] she rose up, and she took her two children by their hands, and went forth on the sea, and she prayed in this wise, saying, 'O Lord God, the Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus the Christ, if Thou art pleased to make straight my way, grant that I may find an opportunity [of crossing the sea].' And as she was praying she looked up and saw a ship about to set sail on the sea, and this woman cried out unto those who were on the ship, 'Whither sail ye?' And they

Fol. 41 a

̅̅̅ said unto her, 'We are going to the city | of Rakote.' And she said unto them, 'If ye will take me with you I will pay you your passage money'; and they said unto her, 'We will take thee.' Thereupon they took her into the ship, and set sail.

And when they had sailed away from the land a distance of about twenty stadia a mighty storm rose up against the ship, and it was so violent that every one who was sailing in

the ship was terrified. And that God-loving woman said, 'God will not hearken unto a sinful woman like myself, but that which hath entered into my heart I will do.' And she arose, and stood up, and prayed [with her face] towards the east, saying thus: 'O God, Who knowest everything before it taketh place, Who knowest the heart of every one, and Who knowest the wish of my heart in respect of Thee, I do not wish for a husband, nor for the apparel which belongeth to this world, nor for possessions, but for my own soul and the souls of my children. Behold, we are about to die in the sea. For Thy Holy Name's sake, O my Lord Jesus the Christ, Thou Saviour of my soul and spirit, look down upon me and upon my two orphan children, and have mercy upon us.' And when she had said these things she took a | butcher's knife in her right hand, and she thrust it out, and Fol. 41 b made the Sign of the Cross over it, and she stuck it into her right breast, and drew forth therefrom three drops of blood, and she made the Sign of the Cross with it on the foreheads of her two sons and [on] their breasts, in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And she dipped them three times in the sea, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, saying, 'In the Name of the Holy Trinity, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.' After these things she made her children lie in her bosom, saying, 'I may die, but let me die with my sons.' And God, the Master of the Universe, when He had seen her faith, stilled the storm, and there was a great calm.

And within three days they arrived at Rakote. And by the help of God they came into Rakote on the day of preparation, on the fourth day of the week, on the Passover, whereon they are wont to baptize children according to the tradition of the Egyptians. And the woman saw that the whole city | was draped in white, and she asked what the matter Fol. 42 a was. And they told her, saying, 'All the Christians who are living in the city are going to baptize their children to-morrow.' And she answered, saying, 'In truth God hath made straight

my way.' Then she made her way to a certain deacon, and said unto him, 'My father, I wish to meet the Archbishop.' And he said unto her, 'What is thy business with the Archbishop?' And she said unto him, 'I am a stranger, and I want to baptize my children.' And the deacon said unto her, 'Hast thou any other business with the Archbishop besides this?' And she said unto him, 'No, I have not.' And the deacon said unto her, 'If this be really the only thing for which thou wishest to meet the Archbishop then tarry thou here. For behold, the children of this city are to be baptized to-morrow, and your own children shall be baptized with them.'

And when the evening had come, and the Archbishop had finished Divine Service, he commanded them to bring to him the little children, and to make them ready for baptism. And  
 Fol. 42<sup>b</sup> when he had baptized them they brought in | the children  
 112 of the wife of the man of Antioch; and God, Who alone worketh wonders, hid the matter from the Archbishop. And when he had taken hold of the little children to baptize them the water in the font congealed and became stone; and when the Archbishop saw this he marvelled exceedingly, and he commanded [the ministrant] to put the children on one side. Then he ordered [him] to bring in to him the children of the natives of Rakote, and when he had begun to baptize them the water which was in the font assumed the form which it had usually. And he commanded [him] straightway to bring in again the children of the wife of the man of Antioch, and when he had done so the water in the font became like stone, even as before. And he commanded [him] to put the little children aside once more. And he ordered [him] to bring in the children of the natives of Rakote, and when he had brought them in [and the Archbishop began] to baptize them the water in the font assumed the form which it usually had. Then the Archbishop commanded [him] to bring in to him the children of the wife of the man of Antioch a third time, and straightway the water in the font congealed and became

like stone. Then Saint Peter the Archbishop commanded the Archdeacon to bring into his presence the wife of the man of Antioch.

And when she had been set in | his presence the Archbishop Fol. 43 a  
 said unto her, 'Tell me, What hath happened to thee? What, πϵ  
 peradventure, hast thou done? Of what religion art thou  
 a follower? What city dost thou come from?' And the  
 mother of the little children answered and said unto the  
 Archbishop, 'I am a Christian, and my parents were  
 Christians, and I am a woman of Antioch.' And the Arch-  
 bishop answered and said unto her, 'Tell me what it is that  
 thou hast done, for behold, God will not accept children in  
 lieu of repentance.' And the woman said unto him,  
 'Hearken unto me, my Lord and Father, in [thy] charity,  
 for thou knowest the sufferings which exist in the world  
 at this time, and especially in Antioch. Now my children  
 grew up, and [as] I could not find an opportunity to have  
 them baptized I said unto their father, "Rise up, and let us  
 [depart] to the city of Rakote, to the feet of thy holiness, and  
 let us have our children baptized"; but he did not wish to do  
 this, and he put before me also the dangers which he said  
 would befall me. And I rose up, and took my two sons by  
 the hand, and I came out on the sea, and I found a ship  
 coming to Rakote, and I embarked thereon with my children.  
 And when we had come into the | middle of the sea the ship Fol. 43 b  
 was in such terrible danger through a mighty storm that it πϵ  
 wellnigh foundered. And I seized my two children, so that  
 I might cast myself into the sea with them and die with  
 them, but the thought came into my heart, and I took  
 a butcher's knife in my hand, and I cut my right breast and  
 drew out from it three drops of blood. And I made the Sign  
 of the Cross on their foreheads and their breasts, saying, "In  
 the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."  
 And I dipped them in the sea in the Name of the Holy  
 Trinity. And it must in any case have been for this reason,

O my Lord Father, that the Lord effected the salvation of myself and my children. Besides this I know of no other thing which I have done.'

And the Archbishop said unto the woman, 'Be of good cheer, my daughter, for it is to the Lord of truth that thou hast done [this] good thing. And He to Whom thou didst come when thou didst pierce thy right breast, and didst put the blood on the foreheads of thy sons, was He Whose side was pierced by the spear on the Cross. He it was Who made

Fol. 44 a the Sign of the Cross | on thy sons with His own hand, and

Πζ at the time when thou didst baptize them at sea it was our Lord Who did baptize them with His own hand.' And straightway the Archbishop set the children back so that he might not baptize them, and he only prayed over the woman and her children. And he preached this stimulating discourse on that very day, shewing forth the love for man and the gracious goodness of God. And he gave to the little children something of the Holy Mysteries, and he kept them under his charge until they had completed the Holy Easter. And afterwards he sent the woman away to her city with her children, in peace.

And it came to pass that when her husband saw that she had returned to him, he set off and went to the lawless Emperor Diocletian, the most wicked man on all the earth, and he said unto him, 'Thou knowest that my wife played the harlot in this town, and I would not support her. When she saw that I would not support her she rose up and departed to Rakote, to the feet of that contemptible

Fol. 44 b Peter. And she hath | played the whore there with the

ΠΗ people with baptism, and she hath also taught the children mysteries which are unclean. And, behold, it is many days since she went away, and now she hath come back again. What now dost thou wish me to do, O my lord the king?' And the Emperor said unto him, 'Zôkratôr, who is it that doeth these things in Rakote?' And Zôkratôr said, 'It is

Peter, whom men call "Archbishop". And when the Emperor heard [this] he was filled with indignation, for he had been wroth with the holy man Peter since the time when he read his discourse concerning idols, the which [also] he preached. And he sent a tribune and soldiers into Rakote to cut off the head of Saint Peter.

And the wife of Zôkratôr commanded [them] to bring her and her two sons [before the Emperor]. And when they had brought her before him, he said unto her, 'O woman, why didst thou leave thy husband, and didst go and commit fornication with the Christians?' And the martyr answered one word only, 'The Christians do not commit fornication, neither do they worship idols; now therefore, whatsoever thou wishest to do, that do. And I have no desire to hear mention made of them (i.e. Christians) | by thy mouth.' And Fol. 45 a  
the Emperor said unto her, 'Shew me what took place among πθ  
them'; but the woman made no answer to him whatsoever. And the Emperor was furious, and he commanded [his soldiers] to tie her hands and her feet behind her, and then to lift up her two children on her body, and to burn them together. And she turned her face towards the east, and yielded up her spirit(?).

Now ye see, O my beloved, that God always hath a man who doeth what He wisheth at all times. He (i.e. the writer of the text) saith, 'She turned her face towards the east, and yielded up her spirit straightway,' because her holy heart was always looking towards the east. For the trees which were created in Paradise were in the east, and the Devil brought Adam out therefrom through envy, because when God Himself had made man [the angels] became jealous of him through the Devil; but God shall take us back again [into Paradise] through His holy Blood which He hath poured out for our sakes. The true east is that which hath risen from the House of David. For a star shall rise in Jacob, that is to say, the star which the Magi saw in the

Fol. 45 b east when they were bringing unto the Christ their | gifts,  
 ¶ which were indicated aforetime by the prophet. Let us  
 then, we who are in the darkness and shadow of death, know  
 the east!

I think now, O Christ-loving congregation, that what we  
 have now said must suffice. Ye have shewn love according  
 to the measure of discipleship, for we are all disciples of the  
 Great, True Master, our Lord and Saviour, to Whom be  
 glory, and to the Father with Him, and to the Holy Spirit,  
 life-giving and consubstantial, now, and always, for ever.  
 Amen.



# THE ASKÊTIKON OF APA EPHRAIM

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

THE ASKÊTIKON OF APA EPHRAIM. BLESS  
US! AMEN.

SUFFERING compelleth me to speak, and unworthiness for undertaking the task urgeth me to hold my peace. Again the grief which is in my heart tortureth me to make me speak, and my sins lay on me the charge to keep silence. Now therefore, since I am fast held by both [desires], it is better to make myself to speak than to make myself to keep silence. I will speak so that I may obtain respite from the pain which is in my heart; my soul causeth me tribulation, and my eyes shed tears. O who is there that will pour water into my head, and a fountain of tears | into mine eyes, so Fol. 46 a that I may weep by day and by night for the wound which is ५४ in my soul, and which is caused by the fact that the word of instruction hath ceased to prevail in our time, and that inasmuch as we are in a state of ignorance our sins have multiplied? For pride permitteth us not to know the things which are upon us, so that we may cease to commit sin.

The teaching and the words of wisdom of our fathers send forth light, even as doth the light-giver of the heavens, because their lives and conversation were filled with every kind of excellence, and this notwithstanding the fact that there were among them thorns and tares (I mean the Greeks and the heretics who lived in their times), and they were glorious, even like unto precious stones of great price. And again, because of their words of truth and their [noble] lives and conversation, their enemies, and those who hated

them, were jealous of them. For who in contemplating their humility would not have pity upon them? Or who in contemplating them in their meekness and humility, and in their tranquillity, would not be puzzled thereat? Or who in contemplating their detestation of riches doth not hate the world? What plunderer, or what arrogant man is there, who,

Fol. 46 b in contemplating the holiness of their lives, will not | betake  
 46 himself to what is excellent? Or what whoremonger is there, or what impure man, who, when he seeth them standing in prayer, will not become good and pure? What man of wrath is there, or what timid man, who, when he meeteth them, will not transfer [to himself] straightway their humility? They contended mightily in this world, and they [now] rejoice and are glad in the everlasting east, and God acquireth glory through them, and very many men are edified by them.

And our teaching (or, direction) hath ceased to proceed on the paths which are straight and easy, and it walketh on the ways which cause affliction and pain. For no man at this time abandoneth his possessions for the sake of God, and no man arrangeth his life here for the sake of that which is for ever. There is no meek man now, neither is there any man who is humble. There is no man now who can bear to suffer ignominy and contempt. Neither is there any man who can endure being treated with derision. For we have all become men without any [right] feeling in us. We have all become men of wrath. We have become lazy and slothful. We have become envious. We have all of us become proud and arrogant. We all seek after fine and gorgeous apparel. We are boasters. We are lovers of vain glory. We are lovers of comfort. For he who cometh |

Fol. 47 a among the brethren, instead of letting them teach him,  
 47 wisheth to give instruction to the others, and wisheth to impart knowledge before he hath acquired properly that knowledge for himself. He wisheth to expound the law before he hath learned the law thoroughly. He wisheth to

pose as a philosopher before he hath learned the letters. He wisheth to make them submit to him before he hath learned to rule himself. He wisheth to give orders [to others] before he hath learned to command himself. He who hath attained to the full height of his stature giveth [his] orders with authority, but he who is still a child giveth vague orders and contradicteth himself. If a wealthy man cometh in among the brethren he demandeth to be treated with great honour, and if a poor man cometh in among the brethren he looketh for a life of ease, the which he hath never known. If he hath been a workman in the world he will minister to his body most carefully and diligently so that it may become refined; and he will make his hands to become soft.

O my beloved brethren, who will not weep when he seeth that our instruction doth not increase? Those who have subdued the world continue to think of the things which belong to the world. And those who desire them most of all are those who say, 'We have subdued [our desires] for the things of earth,' and those who make most use of the things of the earth are they who say, 'We are spiritually-minded.' They think upon the things of the flesh in the thoughts of [their] hearts. O brethren, do ye not know the matter whereto we are invited? O brethren, do ye not know the honour whereto we have come? We are invited to abstinence, | and yet we Fol. 47 b seek after delicate foods. We have come in naked, and we ¶ devote our care to rich and dainty apparel. We have come in to suffer with our Lord, and we seek after a life easy in every respect. We have come to be in subjection, and we all refuse to submit. We are all of us deaf when we are invited to meekness, and humility, and prudence. And we all act savagely towards each other. We cry out, but we do not understand the things which we are crying out. We listen, but the words do not enter into the ears of our heart. If a man cometh upon a dead man on the roadside his face changeth its colour, and his heart palpitateth. Let us see

and let us hear the words of the apostles who died and of the prophets who were stoned, and instead of weeping and sighing let us laugh and make merry, and let us have no feeling of sorrow at all in the matter.

We hear every day concerning the Word of God, that they persecuted Him, and treated Him with contempt, and scourged Him, and hung Him upon a Cross, and crucified Him, and wounded Him, and put Him to death, and that  
 Fol. 48 a He died for our sins. And notwithstanding these things | we  
 ٤٤ are in no wise afraid; on the contrary, our hearts go astray, and we remain in a state of carelessness, and we laugh at our anxieties. [And yet] the sun could not endure the contempt shewn to its Lord, for it was filled with grief, and withdrew its light, and there was darkness, but we ourselves do not wish to turn our hearts from the darkness to the light. The veil of His temple had committed no sin whatsoever, and yet it was rent down the middle thereof, but we ourselves do not wish to move our hearts, nor to weep for our sins. If the earth were to quake beneath us times without number, and tremble before the face of the Lord, still we should never be afraid, and we should continue to remain disobedient to the Lord. Similarly, if the earth were to open and to swallow up cities, and to bury them entirely because of the wrath of God, we should not be afraid. Similarly, if the sun were to hide itself times without number, and were to become dark at midday, and the darkness were to envelop us at noontide, still we should not be afraid, and our hearts would never feel troubled concerning it. And we should not be disturbed at the wars which break out with the Persians, and with the other barbarians, wherein  
 Fol. 48 b they slay men, and invade their territories, and lay waste | the  
 ٤٥ earth, and pour out blood in very large quantities. If we saw them [doing this] we should not be afraid, and flee to the feet of God with tears and repentance, and because of these things we should not turn aside from our evil ways.

O brethren, let us repent, lest the wrath of God fall upon us. O brethren, let us cast ourselves down on the ground, and let us weep, so that we may do away the wrath of God, and that He may forgive us, for we have provoked Him to wrath. O brethren, let us humble our souls with fasting and with sorrow, and with vigils by night, and let us walk in the truth, that He may shew compassion upon us, and may fill the earth with joy. Let us mourn, so that the Holy Spirit may comfort us and may make us lift ourselves up in gladness. Let us cast away from us our evil habits. Let us array ourselves in the virtues of goodness, especially we who have been made to be worthy of the conversation (or, citizenship) of the angels. Let us lay down for ourselves the measure and canon of goodness. Let us emulate the life of our fathers, and first of all let us continue in patient endurance. Let us not work hard to-day | so that we may relax our efforts to-morrow. Let us not walk to-day wishing for a covering for the top of the foot, lest we come to-morrow to ask for a beautiful sandal to cover the sole thereof. Let us not put on our bodies to-day a shoulder-covering or a piece of sacking, or to-morrow we shall certainly ask for a fine shirt made of soft and dainty stuff. Walk not to-day with excessive prudence, or to-morrow thou wilt certainly walk to destruction. Walk not to-day blindly obedient, or to-morrow thou wilt certainly be disobedient, and thou wilt be troubled with obstinacy or contradictoriness. Walk not to-day humbly and in lowlymindedness, or to-morrow thou wilt walk conceitedly and arrogantly. Be not to-day in a state of weeping and mourning for thy sins, or to-morrow thou wilt certainly be over-confident, and thou wilt walk with over-boldness, and with the laughter which ariseth from folly. Do not sleep on the ground to-day, and to-morrow sleep in some bed which is high above the ground.

I adjure you, O my brethren, to do none of these things, but make moderation your guide, and set a fixed measure to

your patient endurance and to your perseverance, in order that ye may be able to fulfil your lives in the manner which is pleasing unto God. And then each one of you shall be  
 Fol. 49<sup>b</sup> of use | to his neighbour in every way, and ye shall be able to  
 ¶ mortify your bodies by your asceticism, and to help your fathers and your brethren according to God. Hear what the Lord spake, saying, 'According to what ye wish that men should do unto you, even so do ye yourselves do.'<sup>1</sup>

O my beloved one, do thou persevere in thy good work, and thou shalt be strong therein, and shalt not remove thyself from it. For our fathers made perfect their perfectness, and they persevered in one rule, and the work which they began they completed in patient endurance. There were some who passed forty or fifty years without changing the manner of their good life of continence. They ceased to make changes in what they ate and drank, they kept a firm hold on their tongue, they slept upon the ground, they walked in humility, and gentleness, and faith, and love, and singleness of heart. They loved their neighbours, which is the bond of spiritual perfection. After all these things there remained to them  
 Fol. 50<sup>a</sup> nothing more upon the earth, | and they withdrew from the  
 ¶ care (or, anxiety) of this life, and they devoted themselves most strenuously to prayer, and to vigils by night, with tears and groanings. Their bodies became unto them at need things of the greatest utility. They trampled upon pride, they suppressed wrath, gold and silver became strange things unto them, and through their sufferings and their tribulations they became purified from every evil thing. Therefore God took up His abode in them, and He received glory from them, and every one who became acquainted with them, and those who heard concerning them, were wont to praise them and to ascribe glory to God.

Let us then emulate them, and let us forsake every evil thing [and] those things which God hateth, so that when we

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vii. 12.

have made ourselves pure God may dwell in us, and deliver us from the Evil One. Consider now the following matter carefully. If a man were to thrust thee into the mud, and wished to leave thee in the mire, wouldst thou not cling to him? If now, thou who art a worm, art not able to endure this [mire], how is it possible for God, Who is spotless, and without blemish, and holy, to dwell within thee when thou art | immersed in the mire of filth and corruption? Fol. 50 b  
 Let us then purify ourselves, O my beloved, so that God may P  
 take up His abode in us, and let us make ourselves to be like unto Him. Disgrace not His Holy Name, which hath been proclaimed over us, for we are called 'Christians' after the Name of Christ. Let us walk in truth, for those who love the Christ [among us] in them shall the Holy Spirit dwell. And in the place wherein the Christ dwelleth there is freedom. Let us be sober, for we know that He hath invited us to His wedding feast. Let us love Him as He hath loved us. Let us strive in everything so that we may be worthy of His bridal chamber. Let us not be careless about our apparel and allow it to become soiled, lest they bind us in fetters and cast us forth from the wedding chamber, and pass judgement upon us for two offences, namely, though we have come forth from the world, we still meditate on the things of the world, and though we flee from the things which appertain to the flesh, we yet seek after bodily ease and comfort. Do not these things, O my beloved, but remember that the day of the Lord cometh like a thief.

Let us be afraid lest that day | come upon us suddenly (or, Fol. 51 a  
 unexpectedly), and we are found to be naked, and in a Pa  
 miserable state. For it shall come suddenly, and we shall not know how to repent; and it shall be even as he saith, 'In the days of Noah they were eating, and drinking, and marrying wives, and living together, and they knew nothing until the flood came and destroyed them all.'<sup>1</sup> Let us then

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 37; Luke xvii. 26.

have fear within ourselves, O my beloved, and let us be prepared, lest it (i. e. the day of the Lord) come upon us, and we be unprepared, and there shall be no help for us. The day is drawing nigh, and the things which are written shall be fulfilled, and they shall come to an end, and then there shall be nothing left except the works of Antichrist. For needs must that his wickedness be completed, when the Roman Empire shall have come to an end.

Already, already, He Who shall come is coming, and He shall not tarry. Let no man who wisheth to reign with the King, the Christ, shew himself careless in respect of Him, for the time draweth nigh, according to that which is written in the Apocalypse. Therefore let him that wisheth to escape the fire of Gehenna and the worm which sleepeth not struggle strenuously; let him have fear in his heart, and let him keep vigil. Let him that wisheth to be consoled [in the next world] sorrow in this; let him that wisheth for an exalted state in the kingdom which is in the heavens

Fol. 51 b humble himself now, in this world. | Let him that wisheth to  
ph rejoice with the angels weep now, in this world. Be sober, let your lamps burn brightly, put oil in your flasks. Let your apparel be splendid. Watch. Sleep not at the wrong time (or, even for a moment). Enter into the chamber of the Bridegroom, which is full of joy and gladness for ever. For the city of the King, the true Bridegroom, which is full of every kind of good thing, is the Jerusalem of heaven; it is full of light, there is no darkness therein, and therein is the fountain which is filled with the water of life. Whosoever wisheth to dwell therein with the King, the Christ, let him make haste to prepare himself. For the time is becoming less, the day is declining, and there is nothing whereby he can know what shall happen unto him. Let us not sleep, lest He shut the door in our faces, and say, 'I know you not,' and there come upon us a black cloud, and earthquake, and thunders, and thunderbolts (?), and lightnings, and tribula-



tions on every side of us, and we shall have no place whither to make our escape.

O my brethren, let us repent, and let us not be judged [in] the Judgement of God. Harken unto the Collector of Proverbs who spake, saying, 'When | tribulation cometh Fol. 52<sup>a</sup> upon you, and would return, it shall happen that ye shall ꝑꝛ call upon me, but I will not hearken unto you. For I called unto you, and ye would not hearken unto me, and I sent abroad my words, but ye paid no attention to them.'<sup>1</sup> Let us then hearken unto the Lord. Let us recognize that we are sojourners.<sup>2</sup> Let us use our earnest endeavours to enter into our own city. And, O brethren, we are spiritual merchants. Let us acquire for ourselves the precious Stone, the Pearl,<sup>3</sup> the Christ Jesus. Woe be unto the man who shall not acquire it for himself, for such a man, in my opinion, handeth himself over to destruction. O brethren, is it possible that ye do not know that we are branches of the True Vine,<sup>4</sup> the Christ, and that the Father of the Christ is the Husbandman? Take heed then, O brethren, lest any one of you remain without fruit. But know ye that it is the Father Who cultivateth the vine, and those branches which yield fruit He doth cleanse, so that the vine may bring forth still more fruit. Those branches which yield not fruit He striketh off from the vine, so that He may burn them in the fire.

Let us then look | to ourselves, O brethren, lest we become Fol. 52<sup>b</sup> careless, and we produce no fruit, and we become cut off from ꝑꝛ the vine, and we become strangers to the Christ, and are cast into Gehenna wherein is the fire which is unquenchable. And, O my brethren, we are the good seed which the Lord of the earth, the Christ, cast into His field. Let us know then, and let us understand, that the harvest is drawing nigh, and that the reapers are ready for the harvest for which they wait by the command of God. Let us look to it then

<sup>1</sup> Prov. i. 24-30.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Pet. i. 17; ii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiii. 46.

<sup>4</sup> John xv. 1.

that we do not allow tares to fall among us, for [if we do] they will tie us in bundles for the fire. Is it possible that ye do not know, O brethren, that we are bound to sail over the sea which is full of terror? Therefore I am afraid lest a gale of wind spring up suddenly, and we be seized thereby, and buffeted thereby, and we be irresistibly driven onwards on its wings and borne to the Valley of Judgement, when we shall be unable to find an apology. And whilst we are weeping there over our careless indifference we shall see others who are glad, and who are exulting and rejoicing. As for us they will drag us away down to Amente, and to tribulations, and sufferings, and sorrow of heart, and bitter

Fol. 53 a sighings, | because of our careless indifference and our supine-  
 pe ness, inasmuch as we had not prepared ourselves before these troubles overtook us.

Let us then be not careless, O brethren, for the Judgement of God is an awful thing. Let us not permit the passion of the flesh to make us strangers to the city of the Christ, and to cast us away from the chamber of the Bridegroom, lest we fall down into the place of weeping and the gnashing of teeth. On the contrary, let us be sober, O brethren, and let us know that we have taken upon ourselves the garb of monkhood. Let us not permit ourselves to fall under the passions of the flesh, and allow them to have dominion over us. The amusements of dissipation, and idle pleasures, and effeminate games and pastimes are manifest among us because we are destitute of the glory of God. Similarly, mad lusts and desires for the vain and foolish things of this life are manifest among us because we seek after the things which are polluted. The love of money and pride are manifest among us because we do not love God. Envy and jealousy indicate that the love of God is not in us. The flesh, which is tender and delicate by reason of frequent bathings and anointings, appeareth in us because we

Fol. 53 b love passions, and because we are the slaves | of polluted  
 pe things. Our mouth is open, and we are never silent, and

[we utter] what words we please; whether they are good or bad we pour them out without sparing. We never pay attention to what is written, 'In the multiplicity of words thou canst not escape from sin.'<sup>1</sup> Whilst we are in this condition all is vain, and the garb of the monk cannot benefit us; on the contrary, so long as our hearts are fixed upon these works in this way, only the emptiness of our foolish pleasures will follow us.

O monk, put not thy confidence in thy garb, but know that thou art a stranger to the things of heaven, and that thy soul appeareth in a naked condition. But peradventure there will be some one who will say, 'The passions of the body are natural, and the man who becometh a servant unto them is without blame.' Watch carefully, O brother, that thou dost not bring an accusation against thyself. Thou resemblest that which was created by the Good God, and the unnatural things [exist] because of thy wishes and thine acts of carelessness; for all the beings whom God hath created are exceedingly good. He hath adorned their natural persons with beauty, and He hath given unto man suitable needs, and good powers and faculties for labour. Now, according to nature, a man | feeleth an hungered, and when he eateth in Fol. 54 v moderation he is blameless; but if he eateth with gluttonous ἄρ immoderation he becometh liable to blame. And yet hunger is a natural thing! Similarly, when a man feeleth thirsty, he is blameless, so long as he drinketh in moderation; but if he taketh to drinking and swilling at all times men will blame him. Now thirst is a natural thing, but to be swilling always is unnatural. And if a man sleepeth sufficient to satisfy his natural want he is blameless; but if he sleepeth overmuch there is no credit therein, for he doeth great injury to his own body. He giveth himself into the power of the passion for sleep, and he delivereth himself over to phantasies through careless indifference. If the custom of sleeping

<sup>1</sup> Prov. x. 19.

overmuch become firmly rooted in him, it will become the master of his natural faculty of sleep. For nature and custom (or, habit) are preachers of two distinct kinds; nature manifesteth itself as a servant, but custom manifesteth itself as an act of deliberate choice, and man standeth between them.

Fol. 54 b The act of deliberate choice is its own master, | and it is like  
**PH** unto a husbandman who planteth evil habits in the natural body, as well as the virtues which are excellent, and who planteth what is evil according as it pleaseth him. Thus also is it in the case of hunger, and in the case of thirst likewise. In the matter of thirst [there is] swilling. In the matter of sleep [there is] great destruction [of the body] if the sleep be too heavy. Moreover, in the sight of the eyes [there is] the evil thought, and in truth there is also the habit of theft. And he planteth the virtues which are excellent in a similar manner. Thus in the case of thirst there is patient endurance. In the case of sleep there is the nightly vigil. In the case of theft there is the practice of honesty. In the case of the sight of the eyes there is temperance. Thus the act of deliberate choice is like unto a husbandman.

For this act of deliberate choice, by the turning of the eyes, either stablisheth evil habits or planteth the virtues, which are excellent, according as he willeth, and it can overcome nature. For nature is like unto a parcel of ground which is cultivated, and the husbandman thereof is the act of deliberate choice. And Holy Scripture teacheth us and instructeth us what are the evil habits which deserve to be pulled up by their roots, and what are the excellent virtues

Fol. 55 a which it is meet to plant, and to cultivate, | so that they may  
**pe** prosper. For the husbandman who knoweth not the power of the Scriptures is himself powerless, and he is also a simpleton, because the law-giving of the Scriptures giveth strength and understanding. It bestoweth the virtues of excellence from its own branches according to rule, it giveth

unto him good faith to plant in his unbelieving [soil], and hope when he is in a state of want of confidence (or, incredulity), and love when in a state of hatred, and understanding when in a state of ignorance, and diligence when in a state of carelessness, [and] honour and glory. He Who suffered planted immortality and Godhead in His manhood. And if our husbandman, that is to say, the act of deliberate choice, casteth behind him his Master who teacheth him, that is to say, the Holy Scriptures, he will find himself led astray, and he will come into evil thoughts which will gather round about him evil habits, and he will plant them in his nature, which was not intended to receive them. And these are they: Unbelief, Despair about thyself, Hatred, Envy, Love of vainglory, | the Lust of the belly, Luxuriousness, Fol. 55 b  
Contradictoriness, Strife, and the things which are like unto P<sup>i</sup>  
these. For these things shall come upon him because he hath forsaken the Law-giver.

And [when] he repenteth he must blame himself, and make haste and cast himself down before the Law-giver, and say, shedding tears as he doeth so, 'I have sinned, for I have cast thee behind me.' Then straightway the Law-giver will receive him gladly, in His abundant love for man, and He will give unto him a good understanding, and strength to enable him to work the field of nature once again. He shall remove the evil habits therefrom, and will give unto him the virtues which are chosen and excellent to plant in the place of the evil things, and He will give unto him crowns and honours in abundance. He shall suffer hunger according to nature, but shall endure it with patience; he shall feel desire, but shall be able to resist it(?); sleep shall oppress him heavily, but he shall contend against it during the night of vigil; he will sing unwillingly, but he will open his mouth and bless God with a vigorous voice. They shall give him a crown for this, and at the same time pay him honours; a crown because he strove earnestly and van-

Fol. 56 a quished nature, and | honours because he acquired the virtues  
 πια of excellence.

Now let us ascribe glory to God because of the love which He hath shewn to man, and let us bless Him, and let us make manifest to all His goodness, and let us cast ourselves down and worship His gracious compassion. For what father would ever shew forth such compassion as this? Or, what father is there who loveth his son in the way wherein the Lord loveth us, who are His servants? He hath graciously bestowed upon us multitudes of gifts, He hath ruled us in majesty, He hath forgiven us in mercy, and He hath healed the wounds of our souls compassionately, and yet we, who are unpardonable, have wholly disregarded Him. He hath shewn long-suffering towards us, and hath not cast us behind Him, for He wisheth to save every one, and to make them cease from their sins, so that they may inherit His kingdom. For He hath in His goodness healed all the sicknesses which have afflicted us. The lazy and inert man He hath made eager and zealous, and  
 Fol. 56 b He hath made him | to learn a few hymns and psalms. The  
 πικ sinner He hath urged to repent, and He hath forgiven him, and given him joy of heart in virtue by means of weeping and humility. The weak man He hearkeneth unto very swiftly in order that his courage may not fail him, and upon those who endure patiently He graciously bestoweth the gift of the Spirit, and He giveth honour to them all as the wages of their sufferings. It is quite possible for Him to draw us to Him [on] wings, but He doth not wish to make our act of deliberate choice to become unfruitful. O what a Good God is this God! O what a Lover of man is this God! O how indescribable is this God! And yet we treat Him with contempt and are careless in seeking after Him, our Lord, Who created us, and loved us, and gave Himself for us, and are sluggish in invoking Him! He hath redeemed us, He hath helped us, He hath illumined the eyes of our understanding, He hath set prudence in our hearts, He hath made us to taste

the delight of His love, which is sweet at all times. Blessed is the man who shall be filled with His love, and over whom no other wish of the heart hath dominion. |

Hearken now unto me, O my brethren, my beloved. What Fol. 57 a wise man is there who would not love such a God as this? ⲡⲓⲥ Who is there who would not worship Him, and acknowledge Him? I beseech and I entreat you that ye be not careless in ascribing blessing to this merciful God. If we are careless and indifferent, O [my] God-loving [brethren], what apology therefor shall we make in the Day of Judgement, or what shall we say? Shall we say that we did not hear, or that we did not know, or that we had never been informed [about Him]? Woe! Woe! Twofold and manifold shall be the woe that shall come upon us. For He saith, 'Voices are heard in the Valley of Judgement.'<sup>1</sup> And what voices are these, O my brethren, except weeping and gnashing of teeth? What thing is there which our Lord did not do for us when He was in the bosom of His Father? Did not He Who was in the height that is indescribable humble Himself, and come down to us? Did not He Who was invisible make Himself visible for our sakes? Did not the Immortal Word take flesh and taste death for us? Was not He Who payeth honour to every one treated with contempt? Was not He smitten on His face for our sakes, that He might make us free? O how full of terror is this miracle! A hand made of mud, a hand of clay, a hand of dust and ashes, which was fashioned | out of the earth, dared to thrust itself into the Fol. 57 b Face of Christ, Who fashioned the heavens and the earth, and ⲡⲓⲁ He endured it with humility! And yet we, wretched and miserable creatures that we are, and made of dust and ashes, cannot bear even speech from each other. This God Who was spotless, did not He taste death, and was He not buried in the tomb for our sakes so that He might raise us up?

Did not He break the fetters of the Enemy, and bind him,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Matt. xiii. 49, 50.

and deliver him over into our hands for us to make a mock of him, and give us the power to trample upon him? When we cried out unto Him, on what day did He not hearken unto us? And if we hesitated a little He was willing to increase our wages. Hearken, O beloved brother, I speak to thee. O monk, tell me wherefore didst thou set thyself apart from the world, if thou seekest again for the pleasant things of the world? Thou wilt neither answer me nor wilt thou be sober. Dost thou not know that thou art invited to

Fol. 58<sup>a</sup> **πτε** tribulations, and afflictions, and | hunger, and thirst, and cold, and nakedness? Thou art invited, O beloved, to prayings, and nights of vigil, and weepings, and sighings. And yet, O brother, thou goest on amid jestings, and lewdness, and laughter, and thou sparest not thy mouth and thine eyes, and thou lookest not into thy heart.

Remember, therefore, that thou hast been invited to a heavenly inheritance, and yet thou behavest like a madman through thy stupidity, and thinkest about the things which belong to earth! But what wilt thou say in the Day of Judgement? Will not the Righteous Judge say unto thee, 'Did I not suffer for thy sake? I suffered hunger for thee, I was thirsty, and they made Me drink vinegar. I was naked on the Cross. I gave My soul for thee.'<sup>1</sup> Were not these words written for thee, O brother? Or dost thou not know that all creation shall stand before the throne of the Christ, and that they all shall be judged on account of everything which they have forgotten, both good and bad? They shall set us

Fol. 58<sup>b</sup> **πτε** in the midst of | thousands of thousands, and tens of thousands of angels and archangels, and all the saints shall stand round about Him. In that hour thou shalt not be able to lie. Watch carefully, then, O monk, and make not thy judgement to be double upon thee, and thyself to be ashamed of thy evil actions. But I exhort thee to rise up out of sleep, and to cast thy forgetfulness behind thee, and to prepare thyself

<sup>1</sup> Compare Matt. iv. 2; xxvii. 34.



before the Judgement of God [cometh]. Know thou that it hath drawn nigh, that the day hath turned, and that the hour is at hand. Know too that thou didst see our brethren with us yesterday, and that to-day they are not, for their Lord required them, and they departed. Consider yesterday and to-day, how they have passed away like a pretty flower or like a swift runner; even so are our days, and yet we do not know it. Blessed is the man who shall make himself ready, for he shall receive the life which is for ever!

Hearken unto me, O beloved one. Hitherto thou hast been carelessly indifferent, hitherto thou hast occupied thyself with the cares of things material, although this world is only like unto a place wherein to sojourn. Now, however, take good heed, and | decide what it is that thou wilt send to heaven before thee. I exhort thee not to depart in a condition of emptiness, but to send a gift on before thee. Send on a prayer full of tears, send on alms and oblations [obtained by] the labours of thy hands, send on nights of vigil [filled] with psalms and hymns, send on belief and truth to the God Who hath loved thee. If thou hast sent on before thee things like unto these then be of good cheer, for thou shalt depart into a place of everlasting rest. If, however, thou hast not sent on before thee any one of the things which I have enumerated, and if . . . . . Do not irritate thy brother, and do not treat him arrogantly. And why dost thou take thought beyond measure concerning apparel, and raiment, and food? O brother, thou takest oaths, thou utterest lies, and thou shewest thyself hard and grasping in thy buying and selling; shall not He Who feedeth the birds and the beasts feed thee by His forethought and by the fruit of thy hands? Do not act in this manner, O monk, but take heed that thou mayest become an heir of God; and, if thou wert, wouldst thou then take care for the material things of this world? | Thou sayest, in accordance with thy garb, 'I have died to the world,' and then thou lettest thy

Fol. 59 a

P17

Fol. 59 b

P18

mind dwell upon the things of the world! Why dost thou deceive thyself alone? Why dost thou make thyself a slave unto thyself? The season for repentance hath been set before thee, [but] thou art careless, and wilt be accused before the Law-giver.

Observe now, O thou wretched man, that death shall come suddenly, and what wilt thou say unto him? Wilt thou not say, 'Let me be; take me not now; leave me until I have repented?' Be wise(?), O wretched man, for that hour shall come upon thee like a snare, and thou wilt repent, and wilt say, 'O woe is me! for my days have come to an end without my knowing it. Woe is me! What shall I do? Death hath compassed me round about, and there is no way whereby I may flee from him.'

Now therefore, O my beloved, be wise, and pay good heed unto the things which I shall say unto thee. Hearken thou unto what the Lord spake, for He said, 'Even unto the very least word, and the most trivial, a man shall give account of the same in the Day of Judgement.'<sup>1</sup> This is sufficient to

Fol. 60 a bring fear and trembling upon us | in the day of the Judge-  
 πρὸ ment of the Christ. Is there any man who would not be utterly terror-stricken before the Lord of All, Who crieth out? for he who hearkeneth unto Him ceaseth to exist [forth-with]. He saith, 'The chamber of the marriage feast is prepared; my oxen and my fatted animals are slaughtered, all things are ready. Come ye to the marriage feast.'<sup>2</sup> Come ye to the open door. Come ye inside, remain ye not outside. If I shall shut the door there is no one who can open it to you, there is no one who can take inside him that standeth outside.' And after these invitations, and after all these entreaties, there is none who heareth, none who hasteneth [to accept], none who is afraid, but all remain unmoved in heart through [their] vain delusion, for we do not wish to hearken. Let us be prudent. Let us not be careless and

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxii. 4.

become carried away by emptiness. A blessed man is he who hath fled joyfully and hath departed to the Lord, for He shall give him freedom of speech at the true marriage feast.

O woe be unto him that is careless! We know that we must of necessity depart, and we know that He will come in power and great glory, | and will bestow crowns upon Fol. 60 b those who have hearkened unto Him, and have worked well, PR and that He will award punishments to those who have been careless. For, in the middle of the night, when all men are asleep, and are sunk in the deepest slumber, mighty noises shall come from the heavens, and peals of thunder which strike terror [into those who hear them], and lightnings filled with fire, and mighty winds filled with quaking, and those who are asleep shall wake up in a state of great alarm, and terror shall lay hold of them, and fear and dismay shall seize them, when each and every one of them shall remember his own deeds, whether they be evil or whether they be good. Those who have done evil shall burst out into lamentation, and their hearts shall beat wildly, and they shall cry out, saying, 'Woe be unto us! Whither shall we go?' For the earth shall shake under them, the thunders shall strike terror into them, the lightnings of fire shall alarm them, and the winds shall buffet them and shake them violently. There shall be darkness and the blackness of night of the densest kind which shall terrify them utterly, and there shall be no place whereunto they may flee. The fear of death shall stupefy them, and the thought of their sins shall encircle them, and the punishment of the Judgement shall put them to | shame. Fol. 61 a

Such are the things which shall come to pass at that hour. PRa  
A trumpet which striketh terror shall issue a blast in heaven, and the terror thereof shall raise up those who are sleeping in the ends of the earth, and it shall make those who have been dead for ages to stand up. Then the powers of the heavens shall shake, and the foundations of the earth shall totter and shall roar like the seas, and all the elements shall be set

in violent commotion at the fear of the glory of the Lord. For a terrible fire shall go before Him, and shall purify the earth from the iniquities wherewith it hath been defiled. Amente shall open its gates in fear, and Death shall remove himself and be abolished. Then all the flesh of men who have come into being from the earth, and who have all turned to corruption, shall hear the sound of the trumpet, and they all shall come to life. O what a terrifying miracle will this be! How is it possible in the twinkling of an eye for the dead bodies of all mankind to rise up, and come to life, and stand up to judgement, and cry out in their fear,

Fol. 61 b saying, 'Glory be to Thee, O God, | Who hast raised us up  
prk from the dead through Thy love for man?'

O blessed shall be those who are perfect, and have lived in purity, for they shall be made happy by the sight of the wages of their labours, and the Martyrs who shall be made to wear their crowns, and the Prophets and the Apostles who shall be arrayed in their apparel, and they shall all dwell in glory before the face of the Christ. O blessed shall be those who shall be found worthy of that state of being, for they shall hold intercourse with the angels, and walk with the saints, and converse with God in the uppermost heights amid the clouds of glory, and they shall keep the feast with the Immortal Bridegroom. For as the bird which stretcheth out its wings flieth up into the heights therewith, even so shall it be with each of them who seeth according to his power. He whose heart is holy seeth the glory of God. And Adam, the first man, shall marvel in that day, and shall say, 'How is it possible that all this great multitude, and these countless nations, can have come forth from my body?'

But he will be far more puzzled to know why it is that of  
 Fol. 62 a this one creation | of all mankind, one is in the kingdom  
prk [of heaven] and the other in Amente. Glory be unto Thee, Thou Who art alone the Wise God! And further, O brethren, let us remember that terrible place of Judgement. In very

truth when I remember it trembling seizeth me, and I become violently alarmed, and I heave sighs, and I weep when I see the Paradise of Joy, and the fiery furnace of Gehenna, and the examination before the throne of the Christ. [When] I see these things I heave a sigh, and my strength faileth me because I have squandered my time with careless indifference, and wasted it in empty talk and thoughts, whereon I have used up my tears, and I never perceived how they were being sacrificed, and how my days were coming to an end; and so my days came to an end without my knowing it, and my sins became very many.

Woe be unto me, O my beloved! What shall I do by reason of the shame which shall overwhelm me on the day of the awful Judgement of Truth? At the moment when those who are my friends and acquaintances see me in the garb of monkhood, they will look upon me, and ascribe blessings unto me, | not knowing that my inward parts are full of Fol. 62b wickedness, and of every kind of uncleanness, and that I PR2 forgot God, Who trieth the hearts and the reins. O brethren, great indeed will be the shame of that moment, and it will be the greater because it must be submitted to, and there is no escape therefrom. Verily, wretched and miserable shall the man be who shall be cast away on that day in shame. Who is there that shall be able to help him? I adjure Thee, O God, by Thy lovingkindness, Thou Lover of mankind, Thou Good God, place Thou me not on Thy left hand, and cast me not away with the goats, who have provoked Thee to wrath. And say not unto me, 'I know thee not.' But because of Thy great mercy, make me, so long as I remain in the body, continue to weep by day and by night, and to groan over my sins, and do Thou prepare my heart to be a dwelling-place for Thy holy grace. Even though I am a wicked sinner I will not cease to knock at the door of Thy compassion. Even though I am careless I will not desert Thy path, O my God.

Fol. 63 *a* I beseech you, my brethren, I entreat you, | I adjure you,  
pre let us weep before Him day and night, with prayers and  
 psalms, in order that we may not fall into the place of weep-  
 ing and gnashing of teeth, and the sleepless worm, and the  
 shame, and the disgrace, and the Great Judgement, which  
 shall decide [everything], that peradventure, by the compas-  
 sion of God, He may make us worthy of life everlasting with  
 the saints, in the place wherein there is neither terror nor  
 destruction, the place wherein there is no death, the place  
 wherein there is no war of the Adversary, the place wherein  
 there is neither hatred nor enmity, but everlasting joy and  
 happiness, and the table which is full of the good things of  
 the Spirit of every kind, and is full of the sweetness of  
 righteousness, and the Paradise over which we shall exult,  
 and which we shall inherit for ever and ever.

Glory and majesty be to the good and man-loving God,  
 Who hath prepared for us His kingdom for ever and ever!  
 Amen.

## ANOTHER EPISTLE OF APA EPHRAIM TO A BELOVED DISCIPLE

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

ANOTHER EPISTLE WHICH APA EPHRAIM  
WROTE TO A BELOVED DISCIPLE.

Fol. 63 b

PRC

My beloved in the Lord, before every other thing set humility in thy mouth when thou art ready to make answer, for, forgive me, thou knowest that by humility all the power of the Enemy is brought to naught. And thou knowest the goodness of thy Master, Whom they blasphemed, and how He became humble, and obedient, even unto death. And do thou thyself, my son, set thy humility in thy mouth, and in thy heart, and in thy neck, for there is a commandment which inculcateth humility. Consider David, who boasted himself of his humility, and said, 'Because I humbled myself the Lord delivered me, and He did good unto me.'<sup>1</sup> My son, array thyself in humility, and thou shalt make the virtues of God be with thee. And if, my son, thou art in a state of humility, no passion whatsoever shall have power to draw nigh thee. There is no measure (or, limit) to the beauty of the man who is humble. No passion whatsoever shall be able to | draw nigh unto the man who is humble, and there is no measure to his beauty. The humble man is a sacrifice of God. With him that is humble the hearts of God and His angels rest. Moreover, when the angels glorify him, there is the excuse for him that hath produced in himself all virtues; but for him that hath produced humility in himself thou wilt

Fol. 64 a

PRZ

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ps. xxx. 8-12.

find no excuse whatsoever needed, besides that he hath become humble.

My son, these are the virtues of humility. My son, hold thy peace, for it is written, 'He who is wise at that time will hold his peace.'<sup>1</sup> Hold thy peace until thou art asked a question. When they ask thee a question speak, and use humble words, and a humble manner. Do not be wholly mournful. If it (i.e. the question) be too great for thee sit down. Speak not when others are speaking words of depreciation; compel thyself, thou shalt not forget, [and let] thy thoughts [be] 'I have not heard [them].' To all words |

Fol. 64 b wherein is profit give thy most earnest attention. For it is

**PRK**

written, 'If [thou art] a doer of the word and not a hearer thereof thou deceivest thyself, my son, in the Lord.'<sup>2</sup> I gave thee commandments in thy beginning, do thou keep them in thy youth. Observe what Paul spake. He said, 'Besides, from the time when thou wast a child thou didst know the Holy Scriptures, which have the power to save thee.'<sup>3</sup> Learn thou the whole code of rules of the profession of the monk, and make thyself to be greatly beloved in all thy works. If thou goest to the desert to take up a place therein, thou being a youth, and thou settlest thyself on one which is too great for thee, and God is therein, do not leave it in thy discontent and depart to another. Let that desert whereon thou hast settled be sufficient for thee, lest thou make Him angry. For it is written, 'It is not a little thing against you to provoke men to wrath.'<sup>4</sup> In the desert wherein thou art observe this course of action, |

Fol. 65 a and flee not from place to place. Do not cry into [the abode

**PRK**

of] a man because of thy belief, nor because of the desire of thy bowels. Have no companionship with a restless and troublesome man, and make thou thyself to continue in thy quiet life, and thou shalt not be in the mouth[s] of the brethren.

<sup>1</sup> Amos v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Jas. i. 22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Prov. xx. 2.



I beseech thee, my beloved in the Lord, to let thy chief aim be to learn; to hearken (or, obey) will give thee rest. For it is written, 'The profit of instruction is not silver.'<sup>1</sup> Guard thou thyself against the habit of not listening (i.e. disobedience), that the word of Saul be not fulfilled on thee and his generation, for God is more easily persuaded by obedience than by sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

These then are the rules of the profession of the monk. Thou shalt eat with the brethren. Lift not up thy face until thou hast finished eating. Perform thy eating in the apparel wherein thou appearest in public. If thou shouldst happen to be the last man served say not, 'Bring it here, where there sitteth a greater than thou.' When thou wishest to drink from the water-bottle do not let thy throat make a gurgling noise like a layman. When thou art sitting in the midst of the brethren, and phlegm | riseth up in thee, do not eject it Fol. 65 b in the midst of them, but go some distance away, and eject ῑλ it there. When thou art sleeping in any place with the brethren let not thy person approach them within a cubit. If the work be of a quiet character do not sleep upon a mat, but fold it up, for thou art a young man. Do not sleep stretched out, nor upon thy back, in order that thou mayest not be disturbed by dreams. When thou art walking with the brethren keep some distance from them, for when thou walkest with a brother thou makest thy heart to be idle. If thou art wearing sandals on thy feet, and he who is walking with thee hath none, take off thy sandals, and walk as he is doing, for it is written, 'Suffer.' Do the work of the preacher. Do diligently whilst thou art in thy habitation. Eat not whilst the sun is outside (i.e. on the horizon). Light not a fire for thyself alone, [or] thou wilt become luxurious. But when thou art invited to warm thyself call some poor and miserable man who is with thee in the desert, [send him in thy stead], and thou shalt cause thyself to be praised,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Prov. iii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 22.

Fol. 66 a saying, 'I could not eat my bread by myself.' | If thou art on  
πα a mountain, or in a place wherein there is a sick brother, visit  
 him twice daily: in the morning before thou beginnest to  
 work with thy hands, and in the evening. For it is written,  
 my beloved in the Lord, 'I was sick and ye visited Me.'<sup>1</sup>  
 When a brother dieth on the mountain whereon thou art do  
 not sit in thy cell when thou hearest thereof, but go and sit  
 with him, and weep over him. For it is written, 'Weep over  
 a dead man, and walk forth with him until he hath been  
 buried'; for this is the last duty which a man can perform  
 for his brother. Salute his body compassionately, saying,  
 'Remember me before the Lord.'

My son, do thy utmost to observe the things which I have  
 written down for thee, for they all are the rules of the pro-  
 fession of the monk. Let death draw nigh unto thee by day  
 and by night, for thou knowest that him whom thou knowest  
 is he who shall speak unto thee, saying, 'I have never placed  
 Fol. 66 b it in my heart. My feet are on the threshold, | I shall live  
πα until I am beyond the threshold of the door.' My son, set  
 thou thy whole mind before God at all times, and let not  
 all these infirm thoughts lead thee out of thy course. Keep  
 always before thy sight the punishments which are to come.  
 Make thyself to resemble God whilst thou art in thy habita-  
 tion. If a brother come to thee rejoice with him. Salute  
 him. Set water for his feet. Forget not this. Let him  
 pray. Do thou sit down. Salute his hands and his feet.  
 Do not put questions to him, saying, 'Whence comest thou?'  
 For it is written, 'In this way some have received angels in  
 their abode without knowing it.'<sup>2</sup> Believe him that cometh  
 unto thee, even as thou wouldst God. If he be a greater  
 man than thou say unto him very often, 'Let [thy] favour  
 be unto me,' that is to say, 'I regard thee as my master.'  
 Put away thy food, and eat with him. And if thou art  
 in the bond of fasting break it, for it is written, 'My son,

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxv. 36, 43.<sup>2</sup> Heb. xiii. 2.

I have always shewn myself glad to accompany the man who wished to walk.' Thou shalt rejoice with him, and be glad. Do thine utmost to make him bless thee three times, so that the blessing of the angel who walketh with him may come upon thee. |

And as regards the Faith itself of the Catholic Church, do Fol. 67 a  
 not let thyself backslide therein, neither do thou put thyself παρ  
 outside it. We believe in the One God, the Father the Almighty, and in His only-begotten Son, Jesus the Christ, our Lord, through Whom the Universe came into being, and in the Holy Spirit, that is to say, in the Blessed Trinity, which is the complete Godhead. He is God, He was in God, He is the Light which came out of Light, He is the Lord out of the Lord. He was produced and was not a creation. He was produced like a man. He was not a created thing, but God. He was produced by the Holy Virgin Mary, the woman who produced God. He took the flesh of men for our sakes, [He came down] to the earth, He rose up therefrom. He chose for Himself preachers, that is to say, the Holy Apostles, whose voices, according to that which is written, have gone forth into all the earth.<sup>1</sup> They crucified Him. They pierced Him with a spear. There came out our salvation, Water and Blood, that is to say, the baptism and the glorious Blood, for unless thou receivest the Blood | thou art Fol. 67 b  
 not baptized. παρ

Do thou, my son, keep this faith, and the God of peace shall be with thee, and shall save thee, and deliver thee, and thou shalt be at rest all thy days. Salvation is in the Lord, my beloved son, in the Lord. Remember me, O my beloved one in the Lord, through Jesus the Christ, our Lord, unto Whom belong glory and might for ever and ever! Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xix. 4.

## THE LIFE OF JOHN THE MONK

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6783)

HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED JOHN, THE PERFECT MONK, WHOSE PARENTS MADE FOR HIM A GOSPEL OF GOLD, AND WHO ENDED HIS LIFE, WITH THE MOST EXCELLENT PATIENT ENDURANCE, ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE MONTH MEKHIR.<sup>1</sup> IN THE PEACE OF GOD. PRAY FOR US ALL! AMEN.

Fol. 68<sup>a</sup> ⲡⲗⲉ THIS life which I will now describe unto you is that of a man of God, who lived in our time, and | it must be regarded with wonder. This man lived in the city of Rome, and he was exceedingly rich; he was the Archon of the city. His name was Entropius, and the name of his wife was Theodora; and both of them had been worshippers of God from their youth up. And they had three children. Now two of these had been appointed to high positions in the Palace of the Emperors, and the youngest had been sent to receive instruction in the works of God. And after these things he learned the teachings of the wise men, and associated with them. Moreover he learned the works of God, and attached himself to the church, making enquiries concerning God by day and by night.

And it came to pass on a day that a certain brother, who was a monk, and who belonged to a Monastery which was inland (or, to the south), and was called after the name of

<sup>1</sup> January 29.

‘those who sleep not’, passed by; and he was wishing to depart to Jerusalem to pray in the Holy Place. And this monk spake unto John inside his house with the words of God, and John marvelled | exceedingly when he saw the monkish brother, and his garb, and perceived his pleasant manner of speech, and his internal thought about God, which was like fire. And John said, ‘My lord father, what is thy native place, or where is thy monastery?’ The monkish brother said unto him, ‘I live in the Monastery of the Sleepless Ones. And if God pleaseth I wish to go to Jerusalem so that I may pray there in the Holy Place, and, by the will of God, I will return again to my place.’ And the monk informed him concerning everything about which John enquired of him. Fol. 68 b  
ⲡⲗϥ

And when John had heard these words he laid hold upon the hand of the monkish brother, and took him to a place which was quiet and secret, and he made him to swear great oaths, saying unto him, ‘My beloved brother, when thou hast gone to Jerusalem, and hast returned in peace, thou shalt not hide thyself from me, neither shalt thou depart to thy monastery and forsake me, and I will not hide anything from thee during the whole course of my life. My parents, however, love me very much more than they love my brethren, for they have placed me in the hands of instructors, | and my father saith, “I will give thee high offices.” Moreover, according to what is in his heart, he wisheth to give me seven offices, each of which is more exalted than his own. After these things he wisheth to make me a bridegroom. And, moreover, when I go into the church I hear them proclaiming and saying, “Everything in this world is contemptible,”<sup>1</sup> and “Let him that despiseth this world follow the Christ with a right heart,”<sup>2</sup> and even so he shall hardly be saved. Surely, my brother, it will be especially difficult for a sinner like Fol. 69 a  
ⲡⲗϧ

<sup>1</sup> Compare Eccles. ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Matt. xvi. 24; Mark viii. 34; x. 21; Luke ix. 23.

myself to be saved. Therefore, I beseech thee, O mighty father, to take me with thee to thy monastery.' And when the monkish brother had heard these things he took an oath, saying, 'When I return I will take thee with me to my monastery'; and straightway they made a firm compact with each other to this effect very readily, and then each departed to his abode in peace.

And after these things the blessed John took counsel within  
 Fol. 69 v himself, saying, 'First of all let me | go to my parents, so that  
 ρλη I may make them prepare for me a Gospel wherein I may read, for I do not know the commandments of Christ, and I would find Him in the place whither I am going.' And he came to the house of his parents, and he told them the reason [for his desire], and he spake unto them thus: 'Behold, O my parents, I am put to shame among my fellow scholars, for of all those who are at school with me each one hath his own Gospel of gold,<sup>1</sup> which their parents have prepared for them to read in. As for me I am like a beggar in their midst, and like one who hath neither father nor mother.' And John threw himself down upon his face before his parents, saying, 'I beseech you most earnestly, O my parents, to prepare for me a Gospel, so that I may have it in my hands, and receive instruction therefrom.'

And when his mother heard [these words] she rejoiced exceedingly, for it was her wish that he should be well  
 Fol. 70 a instructed. And when she had thought | over these things  
 ρλε she spake unto her husband, saying, 'My lord brother, make a Gospel of gold for our son John. Do not have it beautifully written only, but decorate it also beautifully with really precious stones of great value.' And straightway his father commanded, and one brought to him five hundred *holokottinoi* (oboli) and precious stones of great beauty, and he gave them to a cunning goldsmith, and he made for him very beautiful decorations for the Gospel which he had caused to be written.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. an Evangelarium bound in gold.

And John's father took it and gave it to his son, and John took it, and rejoiced over it, and he studied it with great diligence. And he waited for that brother who was a monk to come in order to depart with him; and after a few days that brother who was a monk arrived, according to the compact which they had previously made with each other.

And when John saw the brother who was a monk he rejoiced exceedingly, and was glad, | and he saluted him, and he was in a state of great joy. And he said unto him, 'My lord father, I know the wishes of my parents, and their love towards me, and especially the wish and love of my mother. If she were to hear of such a thing as this in connection with me she would weep, and suffer greatly because of me. I therefore beseech thee to let us arrange that we go away secretly, and not to let any one know of our departure.' And the monk said unto him, 'Whatsoever pleaseth thee that will I do with thee, and that which thou desirest may God fulfil for thee.' Fol. 70 b  
pa

And John and the monk rose up, and they departed secretly. And they arrived at the sea, and they searched for a boat wherein to embark. And John spake unto the captain of a ship, saying, 'I charge thee, my brother, to halve the fare in our case, for then thou wilt be able to take the two of us to the Monastery of the Sleepless Ones.' And the captain of the ship said unto them, 'Sit ye down until I have loaded my ship with its freight, and then, by the will of God, we will set sail.' And John said unto the captain, 'Tell me how much the fare is'; and the captain said | unto him, 'One hundred oboli is the passage money for my ship.' Then John said unto him, 'I will give them to thee'; and when John had said this he came to the place where was the brother who was a monk, and he said unto him, 'My father, the ship's fare is large, and it is meet for thee that we should depart quickly, lest some people meet us, and they recognize' Fol. 71 a  
pa

us, and they seize us, and we be put to shame. Therefore let us flee secretly.'

Then John went into his house to his mother, and he said unto her, 'I make entreaty unto thee, O my beloved mother. I know well that thou fulfillest all my wishes, but there is one thing that I lack, [and which if granted] would cause us both to be praised.' And his mother said unto him, 'Whatsoever thou wishest ask at my hand, and I will fulfil thy desire for thee.' And John said unto his mother, 'Thou knowest that all the youths who are with me at school have provided me with meals, and that not once, nor twice, and that I have eaten often of their provisions. Now there is nothing at all which I can do for them in return for what

Fol. 71 b

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they | have given unto me, and I am in truth ashamed to enter the school again because of this matter.' His mother saith unto him, 'Whatsoever thou wishest I will do for thee. When thy father cometh into the house at the hour of noon I will make him to give it (i.e. money) to thee, so that thou and thy companions mayest do what thou wishest therewith.' And when his father came into the house at the hour of noon she told him everything which John had said unto her. And his father answered and said, 'I will give unto him everything that he wisheth for, but let us set apart a servant to watch over him, for he is young, lest he squander [the money] in works of wickedness.' And these words pleased them both, and they called their son John, and they gave him the money, and appointed a servant to attend him. And when John had taken the money he went to the place wherein was the monk, both he and the servant who accompanied him, and he said unto the monk, 'My lord brother, this servant whom

Fol. 72 a

**per**

thou seest belongeth to me. | I beseech thee to do me an act of grace, and let him tarry with thee, whilst I go to the place where some neighbours of mine are to enquire concerning a certain person who was coming to me at this hour.' Then the old man, the monk, understood that he was talking



to him concerning the captain of the ship, and that he wished to go away by himself by reason of the servant who accompanied him.

And John took the hundred oboli, and came to the place of the captain of the ship, and he said unto him, 'I beseech thee, O my lord brother, to make ready to sail, and let us depart quickly, I and my brother.' And when the captain heard this, [and knew] that John wished to depart secretly, he said unto him, 'I have already finished making my ship ready to sail, and I have already told you that the passage money by my ship is high. However, if thou wilt remain in this place until I have loaded up my vessel, I will embark thee.' And John said, 'I have already told thee that I will give thee the passage money, according to what thou didst say.' And straightway he brought out the hundred oboli in his hand, rejoicing greatly, and he gave them to the captain, saying, 'Whatsoever thou informest me | [is needed] Fol. 72 b more than these I will give unto thee. But observe now, πῶς if by the favour of God the weather be favourable for us, thou must put out to sea quickly, and we will depart secretly.' And when the captain of the ship heard these words he took the hundred oboli in his hand, and rejoiced exceedingly, and he said unto John, 'Go and bring thy companion, and come [back]; if it be the will of God I will take most excellent care of you.' And John returned, and informed the brother who was a monk about everything that had happened unto him.


And after two days John said unto the monk, 'Rise up, and let us depart by sea, because this is the day whereon I ought to make ready the meal for my fellow learners, and I ought to seek for some small fish for them.' And they came to the sea-shore by the will of God, and a favourable wind arose, and the captain embarked on the ship, and stood on the side of it, and he stooped down and beckoned to John and the monk, saying, 'Arise come ye and embark.' Now


they were troubled, for they wished to send away the servant from them, and to leave him behind, but they could not find any satisfactory means for doing so. | And John said unto the servant who was accompanying him, 'Rise up and go to the palace, to the scholars, and see if they have all assembled there, and then come back quickly and let me know; behold, I will wait for thee here'; and the servant departed. And they themselves went up into the ship, which set sail at once, and they arrived at the monastery by the will of God. And the servant returned to the sea-shore and did not find them, and he was disturbed exceedingly in his mind, saying, 'Shall I take to flight and not tell my master?' Then he said, 'I am afraid that they will make search for me and that they will find me, and inflict many evils upon me; so I will go and inform my masters, lest perhaps they seek him at my hands, and I shall be without anxiety and free from blame.'

And it came to pass that when his mother heard these things she rent her garments, and she scattered dust upon her head, and she wept with a great weeping, saying, 'Woe is me, O my beloved son John! What hath become of thee, O my sweet son? Woe is me, O my son! For thy face is

Fol. 73 b . . . . . O John, my beloved son! | Woe is me! Who hath carried away the light of my body? I know not. Woe is me! Who hath carried away my beloved son, the darling of my soul? O John, my beloved son! O light of mine eyes! Why did I send thee forth after wisdom in this manner [to meet] the fate which hath come upon thee? Woe be unto me, O my son, who wast sweet to every one! Woe be unto me, my son, my sweet one, thou face full of joy! Woe unto me, thou who resemblest the angels! Woe unto me! What shall I do from this day henceforth?'

And thus also did his father weep, with groanings, and sighings, and sorrow of heart, and he cried out, saying, 'What hath happened unto thee, O my beloved son? I know not

what hath happened unto thee suddenly.' And whilst the seven days of weeping were being fulfilled the whole city mourned with them. Then his father rose up and went into the palace, and informed the king of everything which had happened, and he entreated him to send out an order to every part of his | kingdom, so that the people might seek for his son, and, peradventure, might find him. And when the king Fol. 74 a  heard these things he was greatly grieved, and was very sorrowful because he loved him exceedingly for his beauty and for his intelligence, and he ate with him at his table because of the greatness of his liking for him. Then the king sent out a command into every part [of his kingdom], and soldiers to seek after him, and they went about in every place, but they found him not; so they returned to the palace. And [although] his parents had worn themselves out in going round about without finding him they ascribed glory to God.

And John came to the monastery, he and the monk also who accompanied him, and he carried with him the Gospel of gold which his parents had made for him, and he (i. e. the monk) informed the head of the monastery of everything which had happened to the young man John, and about his great belief in God. And the Archimandrite said unto the young man, 'My son, behold, I see that thou art young in years, | but exceedingly well-doing in thy works. Moreover, Fol. 74 b  my son, every one who wisheth to withdraw himself from this world, if he be of thine age, waiteth patiently for forty days, and after that period the hair of his head is shaved off, and then he assumeth the garb of the monk.' And John said unto him, 'I adjure thee, O my holy father, by the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity, and by the prayers of the monastery, that thou shave my head this day, and especially, as God knoweth, my heart burneth with desire for the life of the monk, and for the garb of the angels.'

And the Archimandrite was persuaded, and straightway he prayed over him, and he placed upon him the angelic garb.

And the heart of John rejoiced within him exceedingly, and he prayed to God by day and by night with such exceedingly long prayers that his praying, and his daily contest, and his asceticism were far in excess of a very great many of those who were his neighbours. And for six years he led this kind of life of abstinence and ascetic excellence in the fear of God, and besides this he engaged in many contests of self-abnegation, and practised many habits of self-repression. And the

Fol. 75<sup>a</sup> the Archimandrite said unto him, 'My son, | thou art  
**pue** a very young man, but behold, I see thee practising very many mighty works of abstinence; thou wilt thyself destroy thine own body, and wilt not be able to stand up, neither to pray, nor to fast. For overmuch ascetic labour exhausteth a man greatly, and maketh him weak.' But John did not cease to practise the labours which he had begun to perform.

And when the hater of what is good, that is to say, the Devil, saw him, he became angry with a very great anger, for he could not contain himself when he saw the great ascetic labours which John performed in his daily life, and the great renown [which he obtained]. Therefore the Devil brought into his mind the remembrance of his parents, and he endeavoured continually to make him remiss in his exercises. And moreover he made him to become more and more apathetic in the observance of his frequent fastings, and his vigils which lasted the whole night long. And the body of John became weak and infirm, and he became more and more emaciated.

And when the Archimandrite saw him he marvelled at the weakness which had come upon him, for he was wellnigh ready to die, and he said unto him, 'Have I not told thee from the very beginning that God doth not demand from us anything which is beyond our strength, and yet thou hast

Fol. 75<sup>b</sup> made thyself weak and helpless | through the exhaustion  
**pn** caused by thine excessive labours?' And John said unto him,

‘Forgive thou me, O my lord father, it is not the excess of ascetic labour which hath increased weakness in me, but the remembrance of my parents which Satan hath cast into my heart, and the thought of the misery which is in my house. And besides there is this matter also which I do not understand. The [Devil] maketh me more and more apathetic so that I may depart to them. But I believe in God and in thy holy prayers: that I shall trample down all his power, and that I shall not go aside from that which is between me and God. And, moreover, I know that God shall put him to shame.’ And the Archimandrite said unto him, ‘Have I not told thee already that the Devil possesseth multitudes of wiles? But thy crown of patient endurance is great.’ Then the old man, the Archimandrite, wept for the blessed man John, because he thought that perhaps he might turn aside from his patient endurance.

And on the morrow John rose up and came to the Archimandrite, and cast himself down at his feet, and wept, saying, ‘O my lord father, I wish to see my parents, but I entreat thee to | pray for my wretched state, and perhaps thou wilt continue to do so, that God may make me perfect in patient endurance until I trample upon all the power of the Enemy; besides the command [hath come] to me to go.’ Then the Archimandrite assembled all the brethren that they might pray mighty prayers over him, and weep over him many tears, and after that he sent him away, saying, ‘My son, go thou in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost; for it is He Who shall go with thee, and it is He Who shall guide thee.’ And John rose up and took the Gospel of gold which his parents had prepared for him, and he entreated the remainder of the old men to pray for him. And they all together spread out their hands on the head of John, saying, The prayers of the saints shall go with thee, and shall make thee to tread upon all the power of the Enemy.’ And at that moment John rose up, and saluted

Fol. 76 a  
pna

all the brethren, saying, 'Pray for me, O my fathers and my  
 Fol. 76 b brethren; | I salute you all, O ye blessed people, who did  
 pñ receive me, and did feed me with holy doctrine. I am not  
 worthy of you.' And having received the salutation of the  
 brethren he came forth from the monastery and departed.

And when he had travelled a short distance from the monas-  
 tery he turned his face round and looked at the monastery, and  
 he wept bitterly and shed many tears. And after the weeping  
 he went on his way until he drew nigh to the entrance of the  
 city. And whilst he was travelling along he met a very  
 infirm man who was dressed in ragged garments, and in pieces  
 of shrivelled leather (?). And John said unto him, 'Hail, my  
 brother! Come and walk with me.' And the brother said  
 unto him, 'Hail, my lord brother! As soon as ever I had seen  
 thee I rejoiced. Let us walk together.' And John said unto  
 him, 'I see that thou art exceedingly weary, and that the  
 apparel which is on thee is in rags. I beseech thee to give  
 them to me, and I will give unto thee the apparel which  
 I am wearing.' And straightway John stripped his apparel  
 off him and stood naked, and gave it unto the infirm man.

Fol. 77 a And the infirm man blessed John, | and they marched on  
 pñ together until they arrived at the city into which the infirm  
 man was going; and they straightway saluted each other,  
 and each man went his own way.

And when John had arrived at the city wherein his parents  
 were he cast himself down upon his face and wept, and he  
 worshipped the Lord, saying, 'O my Lord Jesus the Christ,  
 forsake Thou me not.' And straightway he came into the  
 gateway of his parents, and he cast himself down by the  
 threshold of the door, and he worshipped the Lord, saying,  
 'O Lord Jesus the Christ, behold, it is the house of my  
 parents which I see; do Thou give me strength until I  
 trample upon all the might of the Enemy.' And straightway  
 John sat down by the door of the gateway of the house of his  
 parents, and he slept there until the morning. And on the

following morning the porter opened the door of the gateway, according to custom, and when he saw John sitting by the door, dressed in very ragged apparel, he said unto him, 'O man, what hath come to thee that thou darest to come into this place, and to sit down herein dressed in such filthy garments? Get up out of the place wherein thou art sitting, and let me clean it before my master cometh down, for if thou do not, and he | see thee, he will quarrel with me.' Fol. 77 b  
 And John said unto him, 'I entreat thee, O my brother, do pnæ not cast me outside, for I am an infirm and miserable man.' And the porter had compassion upon him, and allowed him to sit inside his parents' gateway.

And at the time of dawn his parents came out, and John saw them, and he wept tears in such great quantities that his whole body was soaked thereby, and John communed with himself, saying, 'Behold my parents! Thou hast seen them. Now I believe that thou shalt trample upon all the might of the Enemy.' And straightway John wept another flood of tears, saying, 'My Lord Jesus the Christ, forsake Thou me not.' And he sat in the gateway of his parents for a full year. And his father sent unto him his food every day from his own table, not knowing that he was his son. And his father used to say, 'As the Lord liveth, my heart troubleth me | about this infirm man, who sitteth naked outside in the Fol. 78 a cold by day and by night without clothes.' And John stayed pnæ in that place, and did not wish to come forth therefrom, and his father said, 'The Lord is merciful, and He will deal graciously with us for his sake.' And he gave him a little clothing to put on for God's sake, for he was naked by day and by night.

And it came to pass on a certain day that his mother came down, and she saw the wretched state in which he lived, and the filthy state of his body, and her stomach turned, and she vomited because of the loathsomeness of his body. For his body was pinched and shrivelled up, and was covered with

putrefying sores caused by the severe and prolonged labours of asceticism which he practised, and by the affliction of heart wherein he lived; and he was like unto a dead man. And she said unto her servant, 'Cast this man forth from this place so that I can go out, for unless ye cast him forth from this place I shall not be able to pass by the spot wherein he is.' And straightway the servants cast him forth from

Fol. 78 <sup>b</sup> the place where he was. And he rose up | from that place, and  
 ꝑꝛꝛ he withdrew himself a short distance, but he did not go away as if he were leaving the place, for he kept near the gateway. And when the keeper at the door saw him he disputed with him, saying, 'Go away from this place, O man, because of my mistress, for she must not see thee or she will turn back because of thee.' And John said unto him, 'My brother, I beseech thee do not thou withdraw from me thy gracious kindness which thou hast shewn me hitherto, but do thou make for me a little hut, and a little space wherein I can go, so that thy lady may not quarrel with thee.' And the door-keeper was not indifferent about the matter, but he prepared a small hut for him, and he remained therein, and his father sent to him his food daily from his table. And the things which were sent unto John every day he gave away in charity to the poor and to those who were in want, and he ate no part of them himself except bread and salt. And the brethren

Fol. 79 <sup>a</sup> in the city who were helpless came to him, | and he fed  
 ꝑꝛꝛ them.

And the body of John through his excessive labours became so greatly emaciated that his bones became ever more and more apparent [through his skin]. And after ten years of days, when the Good God had seen the greatness of his self-abnegation, and his ascetic labours, and his fortitude, the Lord appeared unto him by night in a vision, and said unto him, 'Hail, John! Inasmuch as, according to the name which hath been given unto thee, that is to say, John, thou hast lived the life of a virgin as did he (i. e. John the Apostle),



and hast forsaken this world, and all the glory thereof, behold, the period of the sufferings which thou hast suffered hath come to an end, and all the contendings which thou hast undertaken in My Name. Three days longer remain unto thee in this world before thou art to come up to Me in the heavens, wherein thou shalt rest with My saints.' And John rose up from the vision, and he wept, saying, 'I bless Thee, my Lord Jesus the Christ. I am wholly | un- Fol. 79 b  
 worthy to live, [and I am not] worthy to look upon the faces pnn  
 of the saints. But I beseech Thee, my Lord, on behalf of my parents, that Thou mayest incline to be gracious unto them, and to forgive them their sins, for Thou, O Almighty God, art alone sinless.'

And when the blessed John had said these things he called to the gate-keeper and said unto him, 'I know that thou hast shewn thyself careful to do good unto me. There is, however, yet one other thing which I would ask of thee, namely, that thou wouldst go and inform thy mistress of a small matter which I will declare unto thee.' The gate-keeper said unto him, 'Everything that thou wishest to tell me I will declare unto her.' And John said unto him, 'Go, and say unto her thus: This poor and diseased man, who is outside the door, and of whom thou didst say, "Cast him outside," saith: "I beseech thee, my lady, even though thou dost loathe me because I am sick and diseased, yet grant unto me that for which I ask, for God's sake, and consider it worth thy while to come to me in the place where I am, for I have a matter to declare unto thee."' And the door-keeper went in and told the lady everything which | John had said unto him. Fol. 80 a  
 Then she said unto him, 'What is it that this beggar wisheth pne  
 to say unto me? I cannot bear to look upon him or to see him.' And she went in and told her husband, and the members of her house, what John had said to the door-keeper. And her husband said unto her, 'Go to him, my sister, so that thou mayest learn what it is that he hath to say unto thee.

And do not treat him with scorn, for he is a human being like unto ourselves, for it is the weak ones of the world whom God hath chosen.' <sup>1</sup> But she did not wish to go to John.

And again John sent a message unto her a second time, saying, 'I would have thee to know that there remain unto me in this world [only] three more days. If thou wilt come I will talk with thee, and will tell thee the matter before I die; and if thou wilt not come thou wilt grieve when I am dead.' And when she heard about his death she rose up and came down, and she said unto her servant, 'Go on, take me to this place.' Then the servant called John unto her, but his mother did not recognize him by reason of the  
 Fol. 80<sup>b</sup> excessive ascetic labours which he had been | in the habit  
 PΣ of performing. And John her son said unto her, 'Have not the good things which thou hast done ascended unto God, even as it is written, "That which ye have done unto one [of these], it is unto Me that ye have done it?"' <sup>2</sup> I am a sick man, and poor, and I have nothing whatsoever wherewith to reward thee and my lord the Archon in return for the things which ye have done for me, but ye will remember me after my death. Now rise up, and swear an oath to me that whatsoever I say thou wilt do, and that thou wilt not neglect it, and I will give unto thee whatsoever the Lord shall allot me.' And she said unto him, 'As the Lord liveth, I will do whatsoever thou tellest me.' And he said unto her, 'First of all swear an oath unto me'; and she swore an oath. And he said unto her, 'I adjure thee by the Living God that, when I shall be dead, thou wilt not strip off me the clothes which are on me, leaving me naked, but that thou wilt bury me inside this little hut just as I am.'

And when John had said these things unto her he brought  
 Fol. 81<sup>a</sup> forth the | Gospel of gold, and gave unto her the book which  
 PΣ<sup>a</sup> had been made for him before he had become a monk, saying,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. i. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. x. 42; xxv. 40.

‘Let this be unto thee a remembrance both of this world and of that which is to come.’ And she kept turning over the Gospel from side to side, saying, ‘This Gospel is like unto the Gospel which my lord had made for my beloved son John.’ Then she remembered, and she wept bitterly, and her heart was disturbed exceedingly, and she went straightway to her husband, and she shewed him the Gospel, saying, ‘Is this thine? Find out to whom it belongeth.’ And he recognized the Gospel immediately, and he said, ‘Verily, this is the Gospel of our beloved son John, and besides this there is no other. Where did this sick man find it? In any case he must certainly know where our beloved son John is.’ Then the two of them came out, and they were greatly moved; and they came to the place wherein their son was lying asleep. And they said unto him, ‘We adjure thee by the Unchangeable | and Holy Trinity, and by the great need Fol. 81 *b* by which thou art surrounded, to inform us where thou didst p26 find this Gospel.’ And their hearts were beating wildly within them, and their tears were flowing on the ground, and they were not able to stand upright by reason of excessive weeping. And John said unto them, ‘Do ye not know who I am?’ And they said unto him, ‘How is it possible for us to know thee?’ And he said unto them, ‘I am John, thy son, and this Gospel of gold is that for which I entreated you, and I took it to the place whither I went; but I desired the Lord, and I arrayed myself in His holy strength, in this humble garb.’ And when his parents heard these words their bowels were greatly moved, and they were unable to keep back their tears, and they wept bitterly. Then they threw themselves on his breast, and they mourned over him for a very long time, from the first watch of the night until the sixth hour. And at length all the nobles of | the palace Fol. 82 *a* came and wept with them because John had been found in p27 such a miserable condition. And at the very moment when his parents cast themselves upon him the blessed John

opened his mouth, and yielded up his spirit into the hands of God.

O how great was the mourning which took place in all the city on that day! O how great were the outbursts of grief which took place among the nobles of the city! And rich and poor, and men and women, and little and great, all came wishing to see the blessed John. And his mother, through the greatness of her sorrow, and through the disturbance caused by the multitude, forgot the oath which she had sworn to her son, and she had the ragged apparel which was upon him stripped off, and the pieces of old skins, and she arrayed him in fine raiment, such as befitted [his position] in the state. And straightway an angel came and touched the feet of his mother, and they struck together violently causing her great pain, because [she had broken] the oath |

Fol. 82 b

**p32**

which her son John made her swear, and which she had forgotten. Then his father came and saw her as she was suffering torture, and he said unto her, 'In truth, O my sister, this hath happened unto thee because thou hast treated lightly the oath which our son John made thee to swear.' Then this matter caused them anxiety, and they removed the goodly apparel which was on him, and they dressed him again in his ragged garments as before; and straightway the pain ceased in her feet. And she lifted up her face and wept, with great sorrow of heart, saying, 'Woe is me, O my beloved son John! Alas, for what hath happened unto thee! Thou wast the light of mine eye until thou didst enter upon this great state of humility wherein I see thee, and this great poverty. Blessed be my womb which bore thee, and my breasts which suckled thee, O my holy son!'

And all the multitude marvelled how it was possible for so young a man to have attained to such a degree of patient

Fol. 83 a

**p33**

endurance (or, self-abnegation), and they glorified God. | And his parents buried him in the hut according to what John had said unto them, and they built over him a martyrrium.

And they took everything which belonged to him and distributed it among the poor and the needy. And afterwards his parents lived a holy life, and they ascribed glory to God, and to the prayers of our holy fathers.

Here endeth the strife of Saint John, wherein he was mighty and prevailed. He became a servant of the Lord Jesus the Christ in patient endurance, in order that he might receive favour on our behalf before God, and that He might forgive us the multitude of our sins, to Whom, and His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever! Amen.

### COLOPHON

Written on the twenty-third day of the month Mesore (August 16) of the First Indiction, in the seven hundred and nineteenth year ( $\text{Ϡ}\text{I}\text{Θ} = \text{ψ}\text{I}\text{Θ} ?$ ) of the Era of the Martyrs (i. e. A. D. 1003), year [of the Saracens] 363 (i. e. A. D. 985).

I, the wretched sinner, the least of all men, Victor the deacon, the son of the blessed Mercurius the deacon, the son of the blessed Epônuchos, archdeacon of the church of Saint Mercurius, the general-in-chief, of the city of Latopolis (i. e. Esnâ, or Asnâ), wrote [this] book. Remember Thou me, O Lord, when Thou comest into Thy kingdom! Amen.

. . . | by the zeal and care of our God-loving brother . . . . Fol. 83 b  
 Zacharias, the deacon and monk of Saint Mercurius, in the **ⲡⲉⲥ**  
 Mountain of Atbô (Apollinopolis, Edfû, or Uṭfû). He had  
 this book made with [the fruit of] his own labour, he gave it  
 to the sanctuary of Saint Mercurius in the Mountain of  
 Atbô, wherein he lived, for the salvation of his own soul,  
 in order that Saint Mercurius, and all the other saints whose  
 memorials are written in this book, one by one, according to  
 his name, may bless him with every spiritual and celestial

blessing, and may graciously grant unto him the power to endure patiently, and may deliver him from all the wiles of the Devil and of evil-doing men, and may enable him to fulfil the service in the Holy Place, with him that hath inherited it, that is to say, as deacon and monk. And when he shall have fulfilled the disposition of this life in accordance with what is ordered in respect of every man, may Saint Mercurius and the other saints whose names are written in this book beseech the Christ on his behalf, [so that] He may set him in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: and that he may receive an inheritance with the fathers of the community, [namely], Palamôn, Pahômio (Paehomius), and Horsiesios, and Apa Petronius, and Theodore, and Apa Shenoute, and all the saints; and that he may be worthy to hear [the words], ‘Well [done], thou servant good and faithful. Since thou hast been faithful in little things, I will set thee over many. Enter into the joy of thy Lord.’<sup>1</sup> Amen. So let it be! Amen.

Matt. xxv. 21.

# THE LIFE OF APA ONNOPHRIOS THE ANCHORITE

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7027)

THE LIFE AND CONVERSATION OF OUR HOLY FATHER, WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERY WAY, APA ONNOPHRIOS THE ANCHORITE, WHO ENDED HIS LIFE ON THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH PAÔNE.<sup>1</sup> IN THE PEACE OF GOD! BLESS US! AMEN. Fol. 1 a  
8

A CERTAIN brother who was an anchorite, and whose name was Apa Pa[p]noute, made a discourse to the God-loving brethren, and these were the words which he addressed to them.

I, [your] brother, was thinking one day, and I determined to go into the inner desert, so that I might see if there were any brethren who were monks living in the most remote parts of it. I marched four days and four nights, and I neither ate bread nor drank water. I marched on into the inner desert, and at the end of a [further number] of days I came upon a cave. | And when I had drawn nigh thereto I knocked at the door at midday, and no one answered me, and I thought in my mind 'there is no brother in this place'. And I saw a brother seated inside it, and he was silent, and I took hold of his arm, and his arm came off in my hands, and became particles of dust; and I felt his body all over, and I found that he was dead, and that the skin had perished (?). And I looked and I saw a short-sleeved shirt hanging up inside the cave, and when I felt it with my hands, it also fell to pieces and became dust. And I stood up, and I prayed, Fol. 1 b  
8

<sup>1</sup> October 14.

and I took my garment and wrapped the body up in it, and I dug a hole in the earth with my hands, and I buried him

Fol. 2<sup>a</sup> [in it]. And I came forth | from that place.

¶ And I marched on into the desert, and I came upon another cave, and my courage came to me, and I thrust open the door [and cried out], and no one answered me. And I went in and I found no man, and I came forth, saying, 'The place of a servant of God; he will soon return to this place.'<sup>1</sup> And I remained in that place, and I prayed until the day ran to its close, and I recited the books which I had learned by heart. And afterwards, just as the sun was about to set, I looked up and I saw a herd of buffaloes in the far distance coming towards me, and that brother was among them, and when he approached me he was naked, and his hair covered his shame, and it served as raiment to clothe him. And when he had come to the place where I was he was exceed-

Fol. 2<sup>b</sup> ingly afraid, for he thought that I was a spirit, | and he stood

¶ up and prayed, for very often spirits used to come to tempt him, according to what he himself subsequently said. And I perceived that he was afraid, and I went to him, and I said unto him, 'Wherefore art thou afraid, O servant of God? Look, and thou wilt see my footprints, and that I am a man. Touch me, and [thou wilt find] that I am flesh and blood.' And when he had gazed upon me he repeated the prayer in the Gospel. And I urged him to take me into the cave. And he asked me, 'Wherefore didst thou come to this place?' And I said, 'I came to this place because I wished to see the servants of God who live in this desert, and God hath not denied me that which I asked of Him.' And I asked him, saying, 'How didst thou come to this place? And how long ago is it since thou didst come here? And what dost thou

Fol. 3<sup>a</sup> usually eat? And why | dost thou go naked and wear no  
 ¶ clothing on thy body?'

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps, 'This is the place where a servant of God might live; one ought to take possession of it.'



And he began to talk with me, saying, 'I was a monk, and I lived among a congregation of monks in Thebaïs. And there came into my heart a thought of this kind: Rise up, go forth, and abide in a place by thyself. And thou shalt lead a life of peaceful contemplation. Thou shalt become an anchorite, and shalt receive the brethren. Thou shalt shew abundant hospitality to strangers, and thou shalt find abundant wages by the work of thy hands. And that which I thought in my mind I carried into effect. I came away from the house of the monks, I built myself a habitation in a place apart, and I took up my abode therein. And men employed me, and what they gave me for the work of my hands I used to give away in charity to strangers. At that time the Devil became envious of me, because of the wages which I was earning before the Lord | in respect of what Fol. 3 b  
I did for strangers and for other folk who were in want, for ε  
he saw how diligent I was in manual labour, and he was exceedingly jealous of me. And he entered into a certain woman who was a nun, and who came to me, and employed me to do certain hand work, and when I had finished it I gave it to her, and she talked to me about further work. And it became a customary thing for us to meet each other, and the Enemy put it into my heart to take work of the hands from her. And when we had learned to talk freely to each other we ate bread together, and the affair continued to grow until at last we 'brought forth death, and produced iniquity. And when once I had fallen with her into folly we remained in this wicked state for six months. Afterwards I meditated in my heart upon what I had done, and I grieved, and wept exceedingly, and I | was always heaving sighs. Fol. 4 a  
And I thought in my heart when I was alone, saying, "If ζ  
I were to die to-day or to-morrow they would punish us with a severe punishment, with the gnashing of teeth, and with outer darkness, and with the fire that cannot be quenched, and with the worm that never sleepeth, and that devoureth

the soul. Rise up, let us escape from this place, let us get away into the desert." And I wished to escape from the sin.

'And I rose up and came forth, and I departed into the desert, and I have never been with that woman since I have been here. And I found this spring of water, and this palm-tree, and this cave. This palm-tree yieldeth twelve bunches of dates each year, a bunch for each month, and one bunch of

Fol. 4 b dates | is sufficient to last me for the month. I possess

**H** nothing, neither raiment nor the food of bread. My hair increaseth, and as my clothes were worn out utterly long ago, I clothe myself, as is most seemly, with the raiment of my hair. And behold, it is thirty years since I came to this place, and the climate thereof bestoweth upon me health uniformly. And I never eat bread.'

And I asked him, 'At first when thou didst come to this place, didst thou suffer greatly?' And he said unto me, 'Yea, I did suffer greatly, so much so in fact that sometimes through the intensity of my sorrow I used to throw myself on the ground, and cry up to God because of my manifold sins. And I also suffered great pain through an infirmity which was upon me. [One day] I looked and I saw a man who was exceedingly splendid standing by me, and he said unto me, |

Fol. 5 a "In what part of the body art thou ill?" And my strength

**Θ** returned unto me a little, and I said unto him, "I am ill in my liver." And he said unto me, "Shew me the place whercin thou art ill," and I shewed him the place where my liver was in pain. And he stretched out his hand upon me, and his fingers rested upon each other, and he made an opening between my ribs as with a sword (or, knife), and he brought forth my liver, and he shewed me the wounds that were in it, and he relieved the pains in them, and bound the wounds up, and he put my liver back into its place again. And he rubbed my body lightly with his hands, and he rejoined the sides of the opening which he had made in my side, and he said unto me, "Behold, thou art healed. Sin not again,

lest evil more severe than this come upon thee. But make thyself a servant of God from this time for ever." From that day | all my bowels have remained in a healthy condition, Fol. 5 b  
and I have ceased to suffer in my liver, and I have lived in  
this place in the desert without pains. And he taught me  
what the medicament was wherewith he treated my liver.' 1

And I entreated him to let me stay in the cave wherein I had seen him at first, and he said unto me, 'Thy strength is not sufficient to enable thee to resist the attacks of the devils.' And I urged him to tell me his name, and he said unto me, 'Timothy is my name. Remember me, O my beloved brother, [in thy prayers], so that the Lord may make me to bring to an end the good fight whereto He hath summoned me.' And I cast myself down at his feet so that he might remember and bless me. And he blessed me, saying, 'The Lord bless thee! May He deliver thee from the snares of the Devil, and may He set thee on all His good paths | at all times, Fol. 6 a  
and mayest thou escape to the saints.' 1A

And when he had finished blessing me my strength came to me to such a degree that I never felt when I was hungry or when I was thirsty. And when I perceived the great marvel that had come to me I rose up, and I journeyed into the mountain. And when four days had passed by I felt pain, and I stretched out my hands to heaven, and I prayed, and behold the man who had come unto me at first again came unto me, and he gave unto me strength as at the first. In short, when four days had passed I journeyed on into [the desert]. And straightway I looked, and I saw a man in the distance, and he was an exceedingly terrifying object, for his hair was spread out over his body like that of a panther, and he was naked, and his | privy parts were covered with leaves. And Fol. 6 b  
when he had come nigh unto me I was afraid, and I went up 1B  
on a pinnacle of the mountain, [thinking that] perhaps he was a man in delirium. And when he had come he cast himself down for a little time under the shadow of the

pinnacle of the mountain, and he was greatly distressed because of the pain which he was suffering, and he was in great danger of dying of hunger and thirst. And he lifted up his eyes to the pinnacle of the mountain, and when he saw me he cried out, saying, 'Come down to me, O thou holy man. I also am a man of the mountain like unto thyself, and I am living in the desert because of my sins.' And he said unto me, 'Thou art a friend (?) of God.' And I sat down before him, and I conjured him to tell me his name.

Fol. 7 a And he said unto me, 'Onnophris is | my name. And  
 behold, I have lived in this desert for sixty years. I wander about in the mountains like the wild animals, and I never see any man who recognizeth me. I lived at one time in a habitation of monks, in the mountain of Shmûn<sup>1</sup> of the Thebaïd. And the name of that monastery was Erête. We all lived together, and each of us was of the same mind, and peace dwelt in our midst. We lived with each other a life of quiet contemplation, and we ascribed glory unto God. And I passed nights in vigil with them, and I learned the rules of God from them; and their chief men were perfect even as the angels of the Lord. And I heard them speaking about our father Elijah, the Tishbite, and saying that he was wholly  
 Fol. 7 b powerful in God. And there lived in this | desert John the

Baptist also, than whom of all those who have been born of women none hath arisen who is greater than he.<sup>2</sup> He lived in the desert-places until the day of his manifestation before Israel. And I said unto them: My fathers, are not then those who are in the desert more excellent than we are? For behold, we see each other daily, and we partake of the Sacrament together. When we are hungry we make use of the food which is prepared for us. When we are thirsty we take water to drink. When we are weak our brethren

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian Khemenu, i. e. the Hermopolis Magna of the Greeks, and the Ashmunên of the Arabs.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xi. 11; Luke vii. 28.

reach out their hands to help us, and when we wish for the loan of a vessel to eat from we make use of those belonging to each other, for the love of God. But where shall those who are living in the desert, for God's sake, find a man if trouble come | upon them? If they are hungry where can Fol. 8 a they find food? If they are thirsty where can they find 16 water to drink? When they begin to lead the life of the anchorite they rejoice exceedingly because of hunger, and thirst, and the excellence of their manner of life. And the Adversary who fighteth with them to tempt them thereby doth not wish them to continue the life of the anchorite, for he knoweth that the reward is great which they will receive from God when they shall come forth from the body. When they are preaching ascetic labours the compassion of God cometh upon them, and He maketh the angels to serve them in respect of their food, and He bringeth for them water out of the rock. For it is written in Isaiah, Those who abide patiently in the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall spread out their wings | like the eagles in flight. They Fol. 8 b shall fly away and shall not fall, they shall journey and shall 16 not suffer hunger.<sup>1</sup> He saith, Water shall be brought to them out of the rock. When they suffer hunger He will make the grass which is in the field to be sweet to their mouths, even as honey is sweet. If tribulation come upon them, or danger rise up against them, straightway they spread out their hands and they pray to the King Jesus until there cometh to them speedily His help which He sendeth forth, and straightway He strengtheneth them because of the integrity of their heart in respect to Him.

‘Hast thou never heard that which is written, “The Lord will not forsake His people, and the patient endurance of the miserable man shall not fail utterly?”<sup>2</sup> And again, “The poor man crieth out, and the Lord heareth him, and delivereth

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xl. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. ix. 9-12.

Fol. 9a him in all his | tribulations.”<sup>1</sup> The Lord giveth unto every  
 17 man according to what he hath suffered. Blessed is the man  
 who shall do the will of God upon the earth ! I say unto thee  
 that the angels shall serve him from the time when he entereth  
 the body, and they shall comfort him at all times in his need.

‘And to me, your brother, when I had heard these things  
 from these perfect men of God, they became like unto honey,  
 which is sweet in my belly, and a mighty ecstasy took place  
 within me, and I became like unto those whose minds are  
 carried away into another world. And I rose up straightway,  
 and I took a few bread cakes with me, sufficient for the four  
 days’ journey, so that I might eat of them until [I arrived at]  
 the place which God should appoint for me.

‘And when I had come forth from the monastery I looked,  
 Fol. 9b and I saw a being of light before | me, and I was afraid, and

18 I thought in my mind that I would turn back to the place  
 to which I came first of all, and remain there (?). And when  
 he knew that I was afraid, he said unto me, “Fear not, for  
 I am the angel that dwelleth with thee, and that hath  
 travelled with thee from thy childhood ; this stewardship,  
 which the Lord hath appointed to thee, thou shalt be able  
 to fulfil.” And when I had come into the mountain, and  
 I had journeyed in the desert for six or seven miles, I saw  
 a cave, and I turned towards it, for I saw that there was  
 a man inside it. And a very great saint of God came out to  
 me ; now his form (or, behaviour) was goodly, and there  
 was a fine graciousness over his countenance, and when I had  
 seen him I made obeisance unto him. And he raised me up,  
 and he saluted me, and he said unto me, “Thou art Onno-

Fol. 10a phrios, my | fellow worker in the Lord ; come in. The Lord

19 be with thee. Thou shalt succeed in the good work where-  
 unto He hath invited thee.” And I went inside, and I sat  
 down there with him for a few days, and I learned the rules  
 of the doctrine of God from him, and he taught me the

regulations which governed the life of the monk in the desert. And when he saw that I was acquainted with the hidden and terrible fighting which existed in the desert, he said unto me, "Rise up, my son, and let me take thee to a desolate place in the inner desert, and thou shalt abide therein by thyself for God's sake. Since God hath appointed thee to this work thou must dwell in the desert."

'And straightway he rose up, and journeyed with me into the desert for a distance of four days' journey, and at the end of the four days we came to a small hut, and he said unto me, "This is the place which the Lord hath appointed thee to live in"; and he sat down | with me for a month of days, Fol. 10b  
R  
 until I understood the good work which it was meet for me to do. And afterwards he departed from me, and we never saw each other again until this year when I saw him once on the day whereon he laid down the body, and I buried him inside the place wherein he was.'

And I (i.e. Papnoute) said unto him, 'My good and beloved father, at the beginning, when thou didst first come to this place, didst thou suffer from the weather?' And the blessed old man said unto me, 'I suffered greatly on several occasions from hunger, and thirst, and the heat outside in the daytime, and the great cold by night, and my flesh was wasted away by the dews of heaven. And when God [saw] that I endured patiently in my good strife of fasting, and that I gave my heart to ascetic practices, He made holy angels serve me, | and bring to me my daily food, and an angel Fol. 11a  
RΔ  
 gave it to me evening by evening, and he stood by my body. And the palm-tree yielded unto me each year twelve bunches of dates, and I ate one bunch every month. And, moreover, he made the herbs (or, grasses) which grow in the desert to be sweet to my mouth, even as honey. For it is written, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which cometh forth from the mouth of God doth man live."<sup>1</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iv. 4; Luke iv. 4.

thou doest the will of God, He shall take care of thee in every place. For He hath said in the Holy Gospel, "Take no care for what ye shall eat, or for what ye shall drink, or with what raiment ye shall clothe yourselves, for your Father Who is in heaven knoweth of what things ye have need |

Fol. 11 b without your asking Him. Seek ye His kingdom and His  
**RB** righteousness, and these things shall be added unto you." <sup>1</sup>

And when I had heard these things I marvelled exceedingly, and I said unto him, "O my holy father, where dost thou partake of the Sacrament on the Sabbath Day and on the First Day of the week?" And he said unto me, "O my holy father, an angel of God cometh, and he administereth to me the Sacrament on the Sabbath Day and on the First Day of the week. And the angel cometh and administereth the Sacrament to every one who is in the desert, and who liveth there for God's sake, and who seeth no man, and he giveth unto them consolation. And, moreover, when they desire to see any one, they are taken up into the heights of heaven, and they see all the saints, and they salute them, and thereby

Fol. 12 a their hearts receive light, | and they rejoice, and are glad  
**RC** with God in those good things. And when they see them they receive consolation, and they forget that they have suffered in any way; and afterwards they return to their bodies, and they continue to feel comforted for a very long time. And if they are transferred to another world through the joy which they have seen they do not even remember that the world existeth."

And when I heard these things I rejoiced exceedingly that I was held to be worthy to hear them from him. And I forgot all the sufferings which I had endured when I was journeying in the desert, and strength came into my body, and renewed power came to my body and to my soul. And I said unto him, "Blessed am I that I am held to be worthy to see thy holy face, and to hear thy sweet words."

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vi. 31-3.



Then he said | unto me, " Rise up, O my brother, and let us Fol. 12 b  
 depart to the place wherein we are to be." And we rose up, R2  
 and we journeyed along together two or three miles, and this  
 blessed old man and athlete was one to marvel at exceedingly.  
 And we journeyed on, and we came to a hut, and when we  
 had entered into the hut he stood up and prayed with me.  
 And when we had finished the prayer we gave (i.e. said) the  
 " Amen ", and we sat down together and talked on about the  
 majesty of God.

And at the time when the sun was about to set I looked,  
 and I saw a loaf of bread and a vessel of water. And he said  
 unto me, " Rise up, my brother, and eat, and drink this  
 small quantity of water, for I see that thou art exhausted by  
 hunger and thirst, and by the toil of the road." And I said  
 unto him, | " As God Almighty liveth, I will neither eat nor Fol. 13 a  
 drink unless we stretch ourselves out and eat the bread R2  
 together." And when I continued to press him with difficulty  
 [he agreed], and we stretched ourselves out together, and  
 we divided the bread, and ate, and put back some of it; and  
 the two of us drank from the vessel of water, and we were  
 satisfied, and we left some of it in the vessel. And we passed  
 the whole night in prayer, and we prayed to God until the  
 morning.

And when it was morning I saw that his face was  
 changed, and was altogether transformed, and that it was like  
 unto that of another man, and that it seemed to be [made]  
 wholly of fire. And his form terrified me exceedingly. And  
 he said unto me, " Fear thou not, O my brother in God, for  
 the Lord hath sent thee to care for my body, and to bury it. |  
 In a day or two I shall fulfil my stewardship, and shall go Fol. 13 b  
 to the place of everlasting rest." Now that day was the R2  
 sixteenth day of the month Paône.<sup>1</sup> And he also said unto  
 me, " When thou departest into Egypt proclaim the remem-  
 brance of me as a sweet-smelling thing to the brethren.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. June 10.

Whosoever shall make an offering in my name, and keep me in remembrance, Jesus Himself shall bring him in the first hour of a thousand years." And I said unto him, "If he be a poor man he will not be able to give an offering in thy name." And he said unto me, "Let him feed a poor brother in my name." And I said unto him, "If he be a poor man he will not be able to feed him; wilt thou not take him in to the feast at the first hour of a thousand years?" And he said unto me, "Let him give a little scent in my name." And

Fol. 14 a I said unto | him, "If he be a poor man he will not be able  
 K7 to give scent in thy name because of [his] poverty. O my good father, let thy grace be with us all, for whatsoever thou shalt ask of God that will God give unto thee." And he said unto me, "Let him stand up and say three times prayers to God in my name, and the Lord Jesus shall bring him to the thousand years, and he shall receive an inheritance with all the saints."

And I said unto him, "O my holy father, if I am worthy of it, I should like to be present in thy holy abode when thou shalt cease [to be] in this body." And he said unto me, "Certainly thou shalt, my son. For thou hast not been appointed to the stewardship, but the Lord hath appointed thee to console the holy brethren who live in the desert, and to proclaim their sweet odour among the brethren who worship

Fol. 14 b God | for the benefit of those who hearken unto thee. Get thee  
 RH forth to Egypt, O my son, and do thou continue to carry on the good work." And straightway I fell down upon the ground, and I said unto him, "Bless me, O my father, that I may be made to stand before God, and that as I have been held worthy to see thee upon the earth, I may also be held worthy to see thee in the Other World before the Lord Jesus the Christ." And he said unto me, "O my son, may God not cause thee to grieve about any matter whatsoever, and may He strengthen thee in His love, so that thine eyes may receive the light of His Godhead, and so that thou

mayest neither lean to one side nor fall, but mayest end successfully the work whereunto thou hast set thy hand. May the angels shelter thee, and deliver thee from the plottings of the Jews, and may no accusation fall upon thee when thou hast to meet God."

And when he had made an end of saying these things | he rose up, and prayed to God with sighings and many tears; Fol. 15 a  
and afterwards he laid himself upon the ground, and he RΘ  
completed his stewardship in God, and yielded up his spirit into the hand of God on the sixteenth day of the month Paône. And I heard the voices of the angels singing hymns before the blessed Apa Onnofrios, and there was great joy at his meeting God.

And I took off the garment wherewith I was clothed, and tore it into two pieces; in the one I wrapped up [the holy man] for burial, and the other I used as raiment, so that I might not be naked. And I placed his body down in a cleft in the rock, and I heard the sounds of a multitude of angels rejoicing, and crying out, "Alleluia"; and I said my prayer over him, and I rolled several stones upon him. And I stood up and | prayed the second time, and straightway Fol. 15 b  
the palm-tree fell down, and I marvelled exceedingly at what λ  
had taken place; and I ate what was left of the bread, and I drank of the water which was left to us.

And when I perceived that it was not according to the will of God for me to remain in this place, I spread out my hands, and I prayed unto the Lord; and behold, the man who had come to me at the first, and who had given me strength, came to me again as he had done before. And he said unto me, "My God, our Lord, informed us this day that thou wast coming to us in this place. Behold, for six years we have seen no man except thyself." And when we had talked together for a long time . . . . . said unto him, "O our brother, stablish thy heart with a little bread, for thou hast travelled from a place afar off. The Lord hath ordained that we are to

Fol. 16 a remain with | each other for some days, and we will rejoice  
 with thee, O our beloved brother." And whilst we were  
 talking to each other, behold, five loaves of bread were  
 brought in, and they were warm and soft as if they had been  
 [just] baked in the oven, and straightway there were also  
 brought in other articles of food, and we sat down and ate  
 together. And he said unto me, "Behold, this is the sixth  
 year since we came to this place, and four loaves of bread have  
 been allotted to us daily, and these came to us through God ;  
 but as soon as thou didst come unto us this day, behold,  
 a fifth loaf hath been brought for thee. And we have never  
 known whence they came, but when we came in we found  
 them placed here."

And when we had finished eating together we passed the  
 whole night in praying, and we prayed till morning. And  
 Fol. 16 b when the morning had come I entreated them | to let me  
 remain with them until the day of my death. And they said  
 unto me, "O our brother labourer, it is not ordained for thee  
 to tarry in this place. But rise up, and go into Egypt, and tell  
 those whom thou shalt see there that the brethren [here]  
 remember them ; and it shall be a benefit unto those who  
 hearken." And I entreated them to tell me their names, but  
 they would not be persuaded to utter them, and although I  
 pressed them to do so they would not tell me their names.  
 And they answered and said, "He Who hath given names unto  
 everything, and Who knoweth everything, He it is Who  
 knoweth our names." Now therefore, O our brother, keep us  
 in thy memory until we see thee in the House of God. And  
 be thou most careful and let not the world lead thee astray as  
 it hath led astray many." And when they had finished  
 Fol. 17 a [saying] | these things they blessed me, and they saluted me,  
 and I came forth from their mountain.

And when I had journeyed away from them for some days  
 I came to a well of water, and I sat down there for a little  
 because of [my] fatigue ; and large trees were growing by the

well. And when I had refreshed myself, and had rested a little, I walked among the trees, and I marvelled, and I said unto myself, "Who was it that planted them in this place?" And among them were date-palms, loaded with fruit, and citron-trees, and pomegranate-trees, and fig-trees, and apple-trees, and vines, and *dorakion*-trees, and *kisma*-trees, and trees which emitted sweet odours. And the well supplied water, and it watered all the trees which were growing in that place. And whilst | I was marvelling at the trees, and was Fol. 17 b looking at them, and at the fruit that was on them, behold, ⲗⲁ four young men appeared in the distance, and their forms were goodly, and they were dressed in fine skin garments which, as it were, covered all their bodies. And when they had come up to me they said unto me, "Hail, thou man of God, O our beloved brother!" And I cast myself upon the ground and made obeisance unto them, but they raised me up and kissed me. And they remained in a state of great dignity (?), and they were like unto beings who had transferred themselves from another world in respect of the joy and comfort which they displayed towards me; and they gathered fruit from the trees and placed it in my mouth. And as for me my heart rejoiced because of the affection which they shewed towards me, and I passed seven days with them eating of the fruit of the trees.

And I asked them, saying, | "Whence have ye come to Fol. 18 a this place? And of what region are ye natives?" And they ⲗⲉ said unto me, "O our brother, God hath sent thee unto us so that we may declare unto thee our whole manner of life. For we are natives of a city of Egypt called Pemdje (Oxyrhynchus). Our fathers were councillors (or, magistrates) of the city, and they sent us to the school there to have us educated; and we were all in the same school together, and we were all of the same mind. And when we had finished our education in the school they sent us on to the college, and when we had been thoroughly well taught there and had

learned therein all the learning (?) and all the wisdom of this world, we wished to be instructed in the wisdom of God. And it came to pass on a certain day that whilst we were talking together about these things a good resolution stirred in our inner | man, and we four rose up, and we set ourselves on the way to the desert, so that we might live therein quietly until we should see what the Lord had ordained for us. And we took with us a few loaves of bread, sufficient for seven days. And when we had come into the mountain, straightway an ecstasy fell upon us, and a man, who was all light, laid hold of our hands and brought us into this place. And when we had come into this place we found a holy man of God, and the angel of the Lord put us in his hand, and he taught us to be servants of God for a year of days. And at the end of the year the holy and blessed old man died, and we remained by ourselves in this place. Behold, O our lord brother, we declare unto thee by God that

Fol. 18 b

λϵ

Fol. 19 a

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for sixty years we have not known the taste of | bread, or of any other kind of food except the fruit of these trees whereon we live. If we wish to see each other we come here every week to do so. We pass the whole night of the First Day of the week together, and after that each one departeth to perform his spiritual labours [for the rest of the week].”

And I said unto them, “Where do ye receive the Eucharist?” And they said unto me, “We assemble here for that purpose, for an angel of God cometh hither every Sabbath, and he administereth unto us the Eucharist on the Sabbath and on the First Day of the week.” And I stayed with them, and I rejoiced exceedingly. [And they said unto me], “On the seventh day the angel of the Lord will come, and he will administer the Eucharist to thee and to us together. And the man who shall receive the Eucharist at

Fol. 19 b

λη

the hand of that angel shall be cleansed | from all sin, and the Adversary shall never have dominion over him.” And whilst we were talking together I smelled a strong sweet

smell, the like whereof I never smelled before. And immediately the sweet smell reached us we rose up, and we stood on our feet, and we blessed God. And afterwards the angel came, and he administered unto us the Eucharist, the Body and Blood of the Lord. And I became like unto those who sleep, because of the awesome sight which I saw. And he blessed us, and he went up into heaven, and we watched him with our eyes. And when he had gone up they comforted me, and said unto me, "Be of good cheer, for thou shalt prevail, and thou shalt become a man of might"; and straightway I became of good cheer, even as those who are under [the influence of] wine.

And we stood on our feet during the [eve of] the First Day of the week, | and we prayed the whole night long until the morning. And when the light appeared at dawn on the First Day of the week, behold, we smelled that exceedingly sweet smell again, and we enjoyed it, and we rejoiced after the manner of those who are in another world. And afterwards the angel came, and he administered unto us the Eucharist, and he blessed each one of us, saying, "Everlasting life shall be unto thee, and [the power of] prophecy which shall never be destroyed." And we all, with one mouth and with one accord, answered and said, "Amen; so be it!" And afterwards the angel turned to me, and said unto me, "Arise, and depart thou to Egypt, and tell the God-loving brethren the things which thou hast seen, so that they may emulate the life and conversation of the saints." And I entreated him to let me remain | with them, but he said unto me, Fol. 20 a  
 "The Lord doth not allot unto us the work which is imagined  
 by the heart, but God giveth unto each man according to what he is able to bear. Now, therefore, arise and depart, for that is what the Lord hath ordained for thee." And he blessed me, and went up into the heavens in great glory. λθ

And they brought a large number of plums, and we ate them together, and I came forth from them, and they accom- Fol. 20 b

panied me on my way for a distance of six miles. And I entreated them, saying, "Declare unto me your names," and they declared me their names, each one of them. The name of the first was John, of the second Andrew, of the third Heraklamôn, and of the fourth Theophilus; and they commanded me to declare their names unto the brethren, [so that] they might remember them [in their prayers]. And I on my part entreated them to keep my name in remembrance. And we

Fol. 21 a prayed and we kissed | each other. And I journeyed forth, and  
 I grieved exceedingly; nevertheless, because of the blessing which the holy men had bestowed upon me, I rejoiced. And I came into Egypt after a journey of three days, and having found certain God-loving brethren I rested with them for ten days, and I described unto them what had happened unto me; and they said unto me, "Verily thou art worthy of a great reward."

Now those brethren were lovers of God, and they contended strenuously in the ascetic life, and they were worshippers of God with their whole hearts; and their place of abode was Shiêt (Scete). And they made haste and they wrote down these things which they had heard from Apa Papnoute, and they quickly put them in a book, which they sent to Shiêt, where it was deposited in the church for the benefit of those who should hear it [read]. And they spoke about it, and it

Fol. 21 b was the subject of meditation in the mouth of | every one. And  
 they glorified God, and blessed His saints, through the grace and love to man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to Whom be glory, and His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever! Amen.

## COLOPHON

I, Victor, the least of all men, the deacon, the son of the blessed Mercurius, the deacon of [the church of] Saint Mercurius, the general-in-chief, of the city of Latopolis, wrote



this book. Remember me, Lord, when Thou comest into Thy kingdom!

Written [in the month of] Tybi, the third day (December 30), in the Third Indiction, in the seven hundred and twenty-first year of the Era of the Martyrs (i.e. A.D. 1005), year [of the Saracens] 365 (i.e. A.D. 987).

. . . . by the zeal and care of our fathers and beloved brethren, Abba Abraham, the governor, and Abba Khaël, the archdeacon, and the warden Zacharias, deacon and monk of the Monastery of Saint Mercurius, the general-in-chief, which is in the Mountain of Tbô (Edfû, or Uṭfû). They made the book with [the proceeds of] their own labour, and they deposited it in their monastery in order that [the brethren] may read therein, and that those who read therein, and those who hear it read with attention, may profit to the full thereby, and that our Good Saviour and Saint Apa Onnophrios, the anchorite, may bless them, and all those who are assembled in their monastery, with the blessing of heaven, and the blessing of earth, in the most complete fulfilment. May He give blessing, and fullness, and abundance, and lasting salvation in this Monastery. May He deliver them from the wiles of the Devil and of evil-doing men, and when they come forth from the body, according to what is ordained for every man, may they hear [the words], Well [done], servants good and faithful; since ye have been faithful in a few things, I will set you over many. Enter into the joy of thy (*sic*) Lord.' May they be worthy of an inheritance with all the saints. Amen. So be it!

DISCOURSE ON ABBATÔN BY TIMOTHY,  
ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7025)

Fol. 1 a THE DISCOURSE WHICH APA TIMOTHY,<sup>1</sup> ARCH-  
BISHOP OF RAKOTE, OUR HOLY FATHER,  
WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERY RESPECT,  
PRONOUNCED ON THE MAKING OF ABBATÔN, THE ANGEL OF DEATH. OUR HOLY FATHERS THE APOSTLES ASKED THE SAVIOUR ABOUT [ABBATÔN], SO THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO PREACH ABOUT HIM TO ALL MANKIND, FOR THEY KNEW THAT MEN WOULD ASK THEM QUESTIONS ABOUT EVERYTHING. AND THE SAVIOUR, WHO DID NOT WISH TO DISAPPOINT THEM ABOUT ANY MATTER CONCERNING WHICH THEY ASKED HIM QUESTIONS, INFORMED THEM, SAYING, 'THE DAY ON WHICH MY FATHER CREATED ABBATÔN WAS THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH ATHÎR,<sup>2</sup> AND HE MADE HIM KING OVER ALL CREATION, WHICH HE HAD MADE, BECAUSE OF THE TRANSGRESSION OF ADAM AND EVE.' AND THE ARCHBISHOP WISHING | TO LEARN CONCERNING THIS FEARFUL AND TERRIFYING BEING WHOM GOD MADE, AND WHO

Fol. 1 b

<sup>1</sup> He sat from about 380 to 385.

<sup>2</sup> November 9.

PURSUETH EVERY SOUL UNTIL IT YIELD-ETH UP ITS SPIRIT IN MISERY, WHEN HE WENT INTO JERUSALEM TO WORSHIP THE CROSS OF OUR SAVIOUR, AND HIS LIFE-GIVING TOMB, ON THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH THOTH,<sup>1</sup> SEARCHED THROUGH THE BOOKS WHICH WERE IN THE LIBRARY OF JERUSALEM, AND WHICH HAD BEEN MADE BY OUR HOLY FATHERS THE APOSTLES, AND DEPOSITED BY THEM THERE-IN, UNTIL HE DISCOVERED [THE ACCOUNT OF] THE CREATION OF ABBATÔN, WITH AN AGED ELDER, WHO WAS A NATIVE OF JERUSALEM. WHEN ONE ASKED HIM WHAT WAS THE OCCASION FOR THE DISCOURSE HE HAD FORGOTTEN WHAT IT WAS. AND HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING THE HOLY APOSTLE SAINT JOHN, THEOLOGIAN AND VIRGIN, WHO IS NOT TO TASTE DEATH UNTIL THE THRONES ARE SET IN THE VALLEY OF JEIUSAPIAT, WHICH IS THE PLACE WHEREIN THE LAST STRIFE OF THE WORLD | SHALL TAKE PLACE. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! AMEN. BLESS US!

Fol. 2 a

᠙

HEARKEN unto my speech, which is sweet and is filled with gladness of every kind! My Lord and my God crieth out to us daily in the Holy Gospel, saying, 'Every one who asketh shall receive, he who seeketh shall find, and to him that knocketh they will open.'<sup>2</sup> And again, 'Everything which ye shall ask in My Name from (?) My Father, shall be unto you.'<sup>3</sup> And the holy song-writer David saith, 'Blessed are they who are righteous in the

<sup>1</sup> August 14.<sup>2</sup> Matt. vii. 8; Luke xi. 9.<sup>3</sup> John xv. 16.

Fol. 2b way, | and who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are  
 the saints, and those who seek them. Blessed are those who  
 walk in His testimonies, and who seek Him with their  
 whole heart.'<sup>1</sup> And again, 'Those who seek after the Lord  
 shall not lack any manner of thing which is good.'<sup>2</sup> Who  
 are they who seek after the Lord? O my beloved, hearken  
 attentively, O [ye] who love to hear, [and I will tell  
 you]. Those who seek the Lord are all those wise men  
 who meditate upon His law, and His commandments, and  
 His righteous judgements, by day and by night, according to  
 what is written, 'The law of God shall never be absent from  
 thy mouth' (or speech).<sup>3</sup> And again, 'It is meet that every  
 Fol. 3a man who is a Christian | should fill his body with the fruits of  
 his lips, as if it were corporeal food.'<sup>4</sup> Those who seek after  
 God are those men who enquire concerning the creation of the  
 angels of God, and who make manifest their holy commemora-  
 tions. Those who seek after God are all those men who  
 seek after His saints, and who bear in remembrance the suffer-  
 ings which they endured, and record (?) them in the churches.  
 Those who seek after God are all the men who give alms, and  
 charities, and offerings unto God at their holy commemora-  
 tions, each one according to his power. Those who seek after  
 Fol. 3b God | are all the men who love strangers (i.e. who shew  
 hospitality), and those who love the poor, and who clothe the  
 naked on the festival of the saints, each one according to his  
 power. For this reason, then, O my beloved brethren, let us  
 give this day unto the saints, each one according to his power.  
 For this reason, then, O my beloved brethren, let us give  
 with a right heart and with a perfect faith, in order that we  
 may find them (i.e. our gifts) for ourselves in the day of our  
 visitation. Our Saviour informeth us in the Holy Gospel,  
 saying, 'Whosoever shall give one of these little ones even

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxix. 1, 2; cxxviii. 1.<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxiv. 10.<sup>3</sup> Compare Exod. xii. 14; xiii. 9; Num. xv. 39; Deut. vi. 7; xi. 19.<sup>4</sup> Prov. xviii. 20.

a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple, Amen, I say unto you'<sup>1</sup> | . . . .

[Three leaves wanting]

a week of days before the festival came. And in this manner Fol. 4 a  
 we entered into the martyrrium of the holy God-bearer Mary, 16  
 which had been built to her in the Valley of Jehosaphat, and  
 we received a blessing, and we prayed together with those  
 who had come there for the festival. And in this wise we  
 were mindful of the *Offering* with all diligence, and we  
 received the Eucharist with all the people on that day. And  
 each man departed to his house, and we withdrew ourselves  
 from the festival, and I took up my abode in the church.  
 And whilst we were living there the aged presbyter, whose  
 name was John, came up to me, and did homage before me,  
 saying, 'If thy servant hath found favour before thee, let my  
 lord father | come to the house of thy servant, for we would Fol. 4 b  
 enjoy thy blessing.' And when I had perceived his great 12  
 love for his fellow man, and his gentleness, which was like  
 [unto that of] an angel of God, I rose up, and I went with  
 him, both I and those who were with me. And when he  
 had taken us up into the upper storey of his house we prayed,  
 and we sat down according to the commandment of our Saviour.  
 And he made for us a great banquet that day, because he was  
 a lover of men, and he was especially hospitable to strangers,  
 and to every one who sojourned in the church, even as was  
 the Patriarch Abraham.

And when the morning had come we talked together  
 concerning the mighty deeds and miraeles which | our Fol. 5 a  
 Saviour had wrought, and how the godless Jews had crueified 16  
 Him because of their jealousy of Him. And in this wise  
 I spake unto the old man, the presbyter, 'My noble son, is  
 not the Book of the appointing of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death,  
 among all these books which are here, and under thy charge?  
 I want it because I wish to learn how it came about that

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 42; Mark ix. 41.

God made him the king of all mankind, and of all the created things which He made, and how it was that God made him awful and terrifying, for he cometh and pursueth after every soul until it hath yielded up its spirit.' And straightway

Fol. 5 b the old man, the elder, said unto me with a face | filled with  
 IC graciousness, 'Well hath the Master of us all, the Christ, said in the Holy Gospel, "Whosoever seeketh shall find, and whosoever knocketh it shall be opened unto him, and whosoever asketh shall receive."<sup>1</sup> And as for thee, O my holy father, thou seekest, and thou shalt find; thou knockest, and it shall be opened unto thee; thou askest, and thou shalt receive. The Lord shall fulfil thy petition which thou hast asked.'

And when I had heard these things from the old man, the presbyter, I gave thanks to God because He had never disappointed me in respect of any matter which I had asked from Him; and thus the [old man] brought it (i. e. the book) to me. And when it had come into my hand I rejoiced |  
 Fol. 6 a over it more than [I should have done over] very much  
 IC riches, and I cried out with David the Psalmist, the righteous king, saying, 'I rejoice over thy words even as doth the man who hath found great spoil.'<sup>2</sup> And I read in the book, and I found written therein the following:

And it came to pass that when our Saviour, Who is the Root of all good, had finished everything, when the days of His Apocalypse were completed, and He was to ascend up to His Father, He laid His hand upon each one of His holy Apostles, and He prayed over them, and sent them forth into  
 Fol. 6 b all the world to preach His holy Resurrection | to all the  
 III heathen, and He filled them with power and with His Holy Spirit, and He spake unto them, saying, 'The mighty deeds and miracles which I have performed, ye yourselves also shall do. Ye shall lay your hands upon the sick and they shall have rest (or, relief). Ye shall tread upon serpents and

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxix. 162.

scorpions. Ye shall take up serpents in your hands. And when ye drink deadly poisons they shall have no evil effect upon you. Baptize those who believe in Me, and in My Good Father, and the Holy Spirit, in the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and I will forgive them [their sins]. Those who do not believe shall be condemned to the second death. | Depart in peace. The peace which is Fol. 7 a  
 Mine shall be with you. And I will never cease to walk with 18  
 you even to the end of this world.'<sup>1</sup>

Then the Lord answered and said unto Saint Peter, the greatest of the Apostles, the pillar of the Church, the steward of the kingdom which is in the heavens, 'Him that thou wishest to take into it, take; and him that thou wishest to reject, reject.'<sup>2</sup> [And Peter] said unto the Saviour, 'My Lord and my God. Behold, Thou hast informed us concerning everything about which we have asked Thee, and Thou hast hidden nothing from us. And now, O my Lord and my God, | behold, Thou hast sent us out into the whole Fol. 7 b  
 world to preach Thy holy Resurrection to all the nations, and R  
 the mighty deeds and miracles which Thou hast done, the which we have seen with our eyes, and concerning which we have heard, and Thou hast explained them all to us, even [the matter of] Thy Virgin Mother, and Thy holy Birth. And, O my Lord, Thou knowest that there are very many contentious and unbelieving people who will ask questions of us concerning everything, and we wish to be able to explain unto them everything. Now therefore, O my Lord, we wish Thee to inform us concerning the day wherein Thou didst stablish Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, and didst make him to be awful and | disturbing, and to pursue all souls until they Fol. 8 a  
 yield up their spirits, so that we may preach concerning him R̄a  
 to all mankind, even as we preach concerning all his fellow angels whom Thou hast created, and of whom Thou hast shewn us the days of their stablishing, and also that when

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Mark xvi. 15-18.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18.

men hear of [him on] the day of his stablishing they may be afraid, and may repent, and may give charities and gifts on the day of his commemoration, just as they do to Michael and Gabriel, so that their souls may find mercy and respite on the day of Thy holy Resurrection.'

And the Saviour, the Storehouse that is filled with mercy  
 Fol. 8b and compassion | of every kind, Who loveth everything which  
**KB** is good in respect of His day, Who wisheth not to cause us disappointment about anything concerning which we are asked, said unto them, 'O ye whom I have chosen from out of the whole world, I will hide nothing from you, but I will inform you how My Father stablished him (i.e. Abbatôn) over all the created things which He had made. For I and My Father are one,<sup>1</sup> according to what Philip said unto me, "Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us." And I said unto him, "O Philip, in all the time which thou hast been with Me, hast thou not known Me? He who hath seen Me  
 Fol. 9a hath seen | My Father. Believe thou that I am in My  
**KB** Father, and My Father is in Me. If it be impossible [for thee], believe His works."<sup>2</sup> And now, O my holy members, whom I have chosen from out of the whole world, I will hide nothing from you. It came to pass that when My Father was creating the heavens, and the earth, and the things which are therein, He spake the word, and they all came into being, Angel, and Archangel, and Cherubim, and Seraphim, and Thrones, and Divine Governors, and Dominions, and all the Powers that are in the heavens, and all the army of heaven. And He made the earth also, [and] the wild  
 Fol. 9b animals, and the reptiles, and the cattle, | and the birds, and  
**KB** everything which moveth upon it. And He planted also a paradise in the eastern part of the earth. And My Father saw that the whole world was a desert, and that there was no one to work it. And My Father said, "Let us make a man in Our image and likeness, that he may continue to praise

<sup>1</sup> John x. 30.

<sup>2</sup> John xiv. 8-11.



us by day and by night, and that [every one] may know that it is the hand of the Lord that hath made all these things; for I existed before these things were." And My Father commanded an angel, saying, "By My wish and by My command get thee to the land of Edem (i.e. ܐܕܡ, the East-land), and bring to Me some virgin earth in order that I may make a man in Our | image and likeness therewith, so that he Fol. 10 a  
may ascribe blessing unto Us by day and by night." RĒ

‘And the angel went to the land of Edem, according to My Father’s command. And he stood upon the earth, and he reached out his hand to gather together some of it and take it to My Father. And straightway the earth cried out with a loud voice, saying, “I swear unto thee by Him Who sent thee to Me, that if thou takest me to Him, He will mould me into a form, and I shall become a man, and a living soul. And very many sins shall come forth from my heart (or, body), and many fornications, and slanderous abuse, and jealousy, and hatred and contention shall come forth from his hand, and many murders and sheddings [of blood shall Fol. 10 b  
come forth from his hand. And they shall cast me out to RĒ  
the dogs, and to the cats, and into pits and holes in the ground, and into streams of water before my time, and after all these things they will finally cast me into punishment, and they will punish me by day and by night. Let me stay here, and go back to the ground and be quiet.”

‘And when the Angel of God had heard these things he was afraid of My Father’s Name, and he returned and came to My Father, and said, “My Lord, when I heard Thy awful Name I did not wish to bring the earth unto Thee.” And straightway My Father commanded an angel a second time to go to it, and then a third angel, and so on even unto seven angels, and not one of them wished to | approach the Fol. 11 a  
earth because it took awful oaths by mighty [names]. And RĒ  
when My Father saw that none of the angels wished to bring the earth to Him, He sent the angel Mouriël to the earth,

saying unto him, "Go thou by My command to the land of Edem, and bring unto me some virgin earth so that I may fashion a man therefrom, after Mine own image and likeness, that he may ascribe blessing unto Us by day and by night."

'And when the Angel of God had departed to the earth he stood upon it in great power and might, and in the commandment of God. And he reached out his hand to take some of it, and straightway the dust (or, clay) cried out with a loud voice, saying, "I swear unto thee by the name of Him  
 Fol. 11 b that | created the heavens, and the earth, and the things  
 RH that are therein, that thou shalt not approach me to take me unto God." And the angel Mouriël was not afraid at [the mention of] the Name of My Father when he heard it, and he paid no heed thereto, but he went to it, and he laid hold of it with firmness and determination, and he brought it to My Father [Who] rejoiced over it. And He took the clay from the hand of the angel, and made Adam according to Our image and likeness, and He left him lying for forty days and forty nights without putting breath into him. And He heaved sighs over him daily, saying, "If I put breath into  
 Fol. 12 a this [man], he | must suffer many pains." And I said unto  
 RE My Father, "Put breath into him; I will be an advocate for him." And My Father said unto Me, "If I put breath into him, My beloved Son, Thou wilt be obliged to go down into the world, and to suffer many pains for him before Thou shalt have redeemed him, and made him to come back to his primal state." And I said unto My Father, "Put breath into him; I will be his advocate, and I will go down into the world, and will fulfil Thy command."

'And whilst He was wishing to put breath into him He took a book, and wrote therein [the names of] those who should come forth from him and who should enter into the kingdom which is in the heavens, according to what is written, "These are they whose names are written in the

Book of Life from the foundation of the world.”<sup>1</sup> And He put breath into him in this way ; He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life three times, saying, “ Live ! Live ! Live ! according to the type of My Divinity.” And the man lived straightway, and became a living soul, according to the image and likeness of God. And when Adam had risen up he cast himself down before [My] Father, saying, “ My Lord and my God ! | Thou hast made me to come into being [from a state Fol. 13 a in which] I did not exist.” Thereupon My Father set him ⲗⲁ upon a great throne, and He placed on his head a crown of glory, and He put a royal sceptre [in his hand], and My Father made every order [of angels] in the heavens to come and worship him, whether angel or archangel. And all the hosts of heaven worshipped God first of all, and then they worshipped Adam, saying, “ Hail, thou image and likeness of God !” And He intended that the order of the angels who were fashioned [before Adam] should worship him, and My Father said unto him (i.e. their chief), “ Come, thou thyself shalt worship my image and likeness.” | And he, a being of Fol. 13 b great pride, drew himself up in a shameless manner, and said, ⲗⲃ “ It is meet that this [man Adam] should come and worship me, for I existed before he came into being.”

‘ And when My Father saw his great pride, and that his wickedness and his evil-doing were complete,<sup>2</sup> He commanded all the armies of heaven, saying, “ Remove the writing [which is] in the hand of the proud one, strip ye off his armour, and cast ye him down upon the earth, for his time hath come. For he is the greatest of them all,<sup>3</sup> he is the head over them, and is like | a king, and he commandeth them as the Fol. 14 a general of an army [commandeth his] soldiers ; he is the ⲗⲅ head over them, and their names are written in his hand.” Thus is it with this cunning one, and the [names of the] angels were written in his hand. And all the angels

<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 3 ; Rev. xvii. 8 ; xxi. 27.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. had reached their highest pitch.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. all the rebellious angels.

gathered together to him, and they did not wish to remove the writing from his hand. And My Father commanded them to bring a sharp reaping-knife, and to stab him therewith on this side and on that, right through his body to the vertebrae of his shoulders, and he was unable to hold himself up. And straightway My Father commanded a mighty Cherubim, and he smote him, and cast him down from heaven

Fol. 14 b upon the earth, | because of his pride, and he broke his wings  
 and his ribs and made him helpless, and those whom he had brought with him became devils with him.

‘And My Father made them take Adam into Paradise, and a multitude of angels sang hymns before him, and they left him there, and he continued to ascribe blessing unto God. And Adam lived alone in Paradise for one hundred years. And when he had completed the period of one hundred years—now Adam lived in the Paradise of Delight, and remained there alone, and the angels used to come to him every day—My Father said, “It is not good to allow the man

Fol. 15 a to live by himself, but let Us make | for him a helper like unto  
 himself.” And He brought a slumber upon Adam, who fell into a deep sleep, and He took out one of his ribs and filled up [the place thereof] with flesh, and He made a woman according to the form of Adam. And when Adam woke up out of his sleep he saw her, and he said, “This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of [my flesh]; she shall be called ‘woman’, because she was taken out of her male.” Now it was Adam who gave names to all the cattle, and to the wild beasts and to the birds, and to every living creature which moveth upon the earth, and even to those which are in the waters; unto all of them did Adam give names, according to

Fol. 15 b the | command of My Good Father.

and ‘And Adam lived in the Paradise of Delight, he and Eve his wife, for two hundred years; and they were virgins, and they were even as the angels of God. And when they had been living in the Paradise of Delight for two hundred years,

Eve came forth and passed through the northern part of Paradise, close by the wall, in order to obtain fruit (*sic*) for the cattle and for all the [other] creatures, because My Father had told Adam and Eve to feed them according to His command, and they received their food from the hand of Adam and Eve. And the serpent himself came | at the hour Fol. 16 *a* of evening to receive his food according to his wont, for the λζ serpent was like unto all the [other] beasts, and he walked upon his feet just as did they. And the Devil lived nigh unto Paradise, and he lay in wait for Adam and Eve by day and by night, and when he saw Eve by herself he went into the serpent, and said within himself, "Behold, I have found [my] opportunity; I will speak into her ear, and I will make her to eat of the tree, and I will cause them to be expelled from Paradise, for I myself was expelled from Paradise for their sakes."

'And the Devil spake unto Eve through the mouth of the serpent, saying, "Why do ye not eat | of the tree which is in Fol. 16 *b* the middle of Paradise, as ye do of all the [other] trees, for λη the fruit thereof is good?" And [Eve] said, "God said unto us, Ye may certainly eat of every tree which is in Paradise with the exception of the tree of knowledge of the good and of the evil; in the day wherein ye eat thereof ye shall surely die." And the serpent said unto her, "Ye shall not surely die, but ye shall be like unto these gods, ye shall know the good and the evil, and ye shall [be able] to separate the sweet from the bitter. God spake unto you in this manner because | when ye have eaten thereof ye shall become as gods." And Fol. 17 *a* the Devil ceased not to speak into her [ear] until he had λε beguiled her and she ate of the tree. And straightway Eve became naked, and she knew that she was naked, and she took some leaves of the fig-tree, and covered her nakedness. And she went to Adam, and when Adam saw her, and saw that she was naked, he was exceedingly grieved, and he became very sorrowful in heart, [and shed] tears in great abundance. And

he said unto her, "Wherefore hast thou acted in this wise? Behold, from this day forward we shall die, and God will be

Fol. 17 b wroth with us, and He will cast us forth from | Paradise."

**¶** And Eve said unto him, "Come thou and eat. If God shall blame thee, I will take everything upon myself before God." And in this way Adam took, and ate, and he became naked, and he knew immediately that he was naked; and he covered his nakedness with fig-leaves.

'And straightway the voice of My Father came to him in Paradise, saying, "Adam, where art thou?" And he said, "My Lord, I heard Thy voice, but I was afraid, and I hid myself because I was naked." And My Father said unto him, "Who told thee [so]? Hast thou eaten of the tree until thou hast

Fol. 18 a become naked?" And Adam said, "My | Lord, the woman

**¶** whom Thou didst give unto me as a helper made me eat, and I became naked." And My Father said unto her, "Wherefore hast thou done this thing?" She said unto Him, "My Lord, the serpent led me astray; I ate, and I became like the gods." And My Father said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this thing, cursed art thou among all the beasts of the earth. Thou shalt walk upon thy belly all the days of thy life, and all thy seed [shall be accursed] throughout all generations on the earth. Thou shalt eat earth and ashes all thy time, and so shall all those that shall come forth from thee." It was in this way that the serpent came

Fol. 18 b to walk | upon his belly, according to what My Father

**¶** decreed for him. And He said unto the woman also, "Because thou hast done this thing thou shalt bring forth children in sorrow and sighing, and thou shalt turn to thy husband." And similarly He turned to Adam, and said unto him, "Cursed be the earth because of thy deeds. Thou shalt eat thy bread by the sweat of thy face, and all those who shall come out of thee shall do likewise. Behold, thou shalt die from this day onwards, because thou art earth, and thou shalt return again to the earth. Thou shalt live in the world a life

of nine hundred and thirty years, and when death cometh upon thee thou shalt turn to the earth | again. Thy soul shall abide in Amente, and thou shalt sit in black darkness for four and a half thousand of years . . .

Fol. 19<sup>a</sup>

“And when five and a half thousand of years are fulfilled I will send My beloved Son into the world, and He shall abide in a virgin womb, that is to say, the holy Virgin Mary. She shall give Him birth on the earth in lowliness and humility, and [after she hath done so] she shall remain a virgin, even as she was before. He shall pass thirty-three and a half years in the world, and He shall receive every attribute of humanity, | sin alone excepted. He shall perform innumerable mighty deeds and wonders, He shall raise the dead, He shall drive out the devils, He shall heal those who are sick of the palsy, He shall make the lame to walk, the deaf He shall make to hear, and the dumb He shall make to speak, He shall cleanse the lepers, and [restore] the arms that are withered, and He shall open the eyes of the blind by the word of His power. In short, there shall be no limit to the miracles which He shall perform, but in spite of all these men will not believe on Him. And at length, after all these things, they shall rise up against Him, and they shall deliver Him over unto death, and | they shall give Him into the hand of the Governor, that is to say, Pilate, and he shall judge Him for thy sake. He shall be in the form of a servant for thy sake. They shall smite Him in the face for thy sake. They shall treat Him with contempt and vilify Him for thy sake. They shall pass sentence of condemnation upon Him as if He were a sacrilegious person. They shall mount Him upon the wood of the Cross, between two thieves, for thy sake. They shall set a crown of thorns upon His head for thy sake. They shall make Him drink vinegar and gall for thy sake. They shall drive nails into His hands and feet for thy sake. He shall yield up His Spirit on the Cross. They shall pierce His side with a spear so that

Fol. 19<sup>b</sup>

Fol. 20<sup>a</sup>

Fol. 20<sup>b</sup> water and blood shall flow forth therefrom, | and it is these  
 which shall cleanse the sins of the world. They shall lay  
 Him in a new tomb. He shall rise from the dead on the  
 third day. He shall go down into Amente, He shall shatter  
 the gate of brass, and break in pieces the bolts of iron, and  
 shall bring thee up therefrom together with all those who  
 shall be held there in captivity with thee. For thy sake,  
 O Adam, the Son of God shall suffer all these things until  
 He hath redeemed thee, and restored thee to Paradise, unto  
 the place whence thou didst come, for He made Himself  
 to be thy advocate (or, protector), when thou wast clay,  
 before He put spirit (or, breath) into thee.”

Fol. 21<sup>a</sup> ‘It was I, the Son of God, Who suffered all these things  
 until I delivered man | from the hand of the Devil. And ye have  
 seen all these things with your eyes, O my holy Apostles. It  
 was in this wise that My Father expelled Adam and Eve from  
 Paradise. He shut the gate [thereof], and He placed a mighty  
 being of fire to watch the gate of Paradise, so that no one might  
 enter therein until all those things which He had proclaimed  
 concerning Adam had been fulfilled.

‘And the Devil went to meet Adam outside Paradise, and  
 he said unto him, “Behold, O Adam, I was cast forth from my  
 glory through thee, and behold, I have made thee to be  
 expelled from the Paradise of Delight because thou hast  
 caused me to become a stranger to my dwelling-place in  
 heaven. Know thou that I will never cease to contend  
 against thee and against all those who shall | come after thee  
 from out of thee, until I have taken them all down into  
 Amente with me.”

‘And when Adam heard these things he became very  
 sad, and shed many tears both by day and by night. And  
 My Father said unto Mouriël the angel, “Behold, the man  
 whom I created in My image hath transgressed the com-  
 mandment which I gave him. He hath eaten of the tree,  
 and hath brought a great injury upon all mankind. For this



reason I make thee king over him, for it was thou who didst bring him to Me on this day, which is the thirteenth of the month Hathor.

"Thy name shall be | a terror in the mouth of every one. Fol. 22 *a*  
They shall call thee Abbatôn, the Angel of Death. 𐤀𐤁𐤕𐤏𐤓

"Thy form and thine image shall be [associated with] complaining, and wrath, and threatening in all souls, until they have yielded up their spirits.

"Thine eye and thy face shall be like unto a wheel of fire which beareth waves and waves [of fire] before me.

"The sound of thy nostrils shall be like unto the sound of a lake of fire wherein burn fire and sulphur (or, naphtha).

"The sound of the noises made by thy lips shall be like unto the sounds of the seven thunders which shall speak with their tongues. |

"Thy head shall be like unto these great pillars of fire Fol. 22 *b*  
which [reach] from heaven downwards. 𐤀𐤁𐤕𐤏𐤓

"Thy teeth shall project from thy mouth the length of half a cubit.

"The fingers of thy hands and [the toes of] thy feet shall be like unto sharp reaping-knives.

"Seven heads shall be on the top of thy head, and they shall change their shapes and forms [continually].

"Their teeth shall project outside their mouths for the length of two palms, and they shall point towards the four quarters of the world. Thou shalt be suspended in the midst, and thou shalt sit upon a throne of fire.

"Thine eyes shall look down upon the earth, and upon whatsoever is in the depths of the waters; nothing shall be hidden from thee in heaven, nor from one end of the earth |  
to the other, from the north to the south, and from the east Fol. 23 *a*  
to the west, among all the created things which I have 𐤀𐤁𐤕𐤏𐤓  
made.

"Not one of them shall yield up his spirit until he hath seen thee.

“Thou shalt shew compassion neither upon small nor great, and thou shalt carry all away mercilessly. The Powers shall be under thy control, and thou shalt send them after every soul. They shall strike terror into souls, and shall change their forms.<sup>1</sup> When the period of their life hath come to an end thou shalt appear to them, and they shall look upon thee; and when they look upon thy face their souls shall not be able to abide in them, even for a moment, and they will be forced to yield them up. Thus thou shalt continue to be king over them until the period for which I have ordained | the world [to last] shall be ended.”

‘And when the angels saw him they were all greatly disturbed together, and they said, “Woe! Woe be unto the sons of men who shall be born into the world! For behold, even we who are incorporeal shall perish through terror.” Then Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, cast himself down before My Father, saying, “My Lord, behold Thou hast made me to be an object of terror unto all the angels. Now, therefore, O my Lord, I entreat Thee, and I beseech Thy Goodness to grant that when the sons of men who shall be born into the world shall hear that thou hast made me to be an object of terror and fear they shall become afraid, | and shall give charity, and alms, and gifts, in my name, and that the day whereon Thou didst stablish me may be written down in the Book, and that they may appear on [the day of] my commemoration, and may seek after mercy and rest for their souls. And now, O my Lord, let Thy Spirit stablish them. And grant unto me power over them, so that I may take them to the place of rest, and to the dwelling-place of all those who rejoice, and let them celebrate a festival in my honour upon the earth even as they celebrate festivals in honour of all my fellow angels. O my Lord, let Thy mercy help them!”

‘And My Father spake, saying, “I tell thee, O Abbatôn, thou Angel [of Death], whosoever shall hold thee in terror,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. transform themselves [frequently].

and shall give alms and charities in thy name, or repent, | or Fol. 24 b  
 write in the Book [the day of] thy stablishing, that is to say, H2  
 the thirteenth day of the month Hathor, the day whereon  
 I stablished thee over Adam because of his disobedience,  
 I will write their names in the Book of Life, and I will give  
 them as a gift unto thee in My kingdom, and they shall never  
 experience any kind of punishment (or, torture). But thou  
 shalt not go unto them in this terrible form of thine, but thou  
 shalt go unto them and treat them with gentle tenderness,  
 until thou art able to bring them (i.e. their souls) out of the  
 body. I will give thee power over them, and thou shalt take  
 them to the place of rest, the dwelling-place of all those who  
 rejoice, | for I am God, the Good and Compassionate towards Fol. 25 a  
 My clay." Then Abbatôn, the Angel [of Death], cast himself H3  
 down before My Father, and he spake unto Him, saying,  
 "I will purify them, O Lord, my God and my King, in the  
 place of all those whom Thou hast made."

'And now, O my holy Apostles, I have made you to know  
 what My Father did in respect of Abbatôn, the awful and  
 terrifying [angel], [and how He set him] over the creation  
 which He had made, because of the transgression of Adam  
 and Eve; preach ye it to all mankind.'

And Saint John, the virgin, answered and spake [unto Him],  
 saying, 'My Lord and my God, | Who hast sanctified me Fol. 25 b  
 unto Thyself, Who hast made all my thoughts to cling unto H4  
 Thee, Who didst guard me and didst not permit me to take  
 unto myself a wife; when Thou shalt gather together all Thy  
 clay into the Valley of Jehosaphat, in order that each one  
 may receive according to what he hath done, whether it be  
 good or whether it be evil, if Abbatôn, the Angel of Death,  
 shall come on that day, being in forms of his own person,—if  
 this be so, I say, my Lord, there is not one soul that shall be  
 able to stand before Thy awful throne. Behold, we shall  
 perish through fright when we hear these things at Thy  
 hand.'

Fol. 26<sup>a</sup> And the Saviour opened | His mouth with a smile in the  
 𐌹𐌺. face of John, and He spake unto him, saying, ‘O John, My  
 beloved, who didst cast thyself upon My breast because of  
 the purity of thy heart, and the purity of thy holy body, and  
 thy virginity, dost thou not know that in the day of the  
 Holy Resurrection men will not take unto themselves wives,  
 and women will not live with husbands, and that there shall  
 be no death, because old things shall have passed away? And  
 there shall remain only the second death for those who have to  
 meet it. On the day of the Holy Resurrection I shall come  
 upon the clouds of heaven, and every eye shall see Me, and  
 Fol. 26<sup>b</sup> all peoples and tongues shall lament. And | thousands of  
 𐌹𐌺 thousands, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of  
 angels shall be before Me. And My Cross shall advance  
 before Me, like a symbol of sovereignty before a king,  
 according to what I have said unto you, “The Son of Man  
 shall come in His glory, and with that which is of His  
 Father, and all His angels with Him.”<sup>1</sup> I will command  
 My chief Archangel, the holy Michael, and he shall blow  
 a blast on his trumpet in the Valley of Jehosaphat, that  
 those who are dead may arise incorruptible, and there shall  
 not remain upon the earth one soul that shall not rise up,  
 from Adam the first man even unto the last man that shall  
 be born into the world. And they all shall rise up in the  
 Fol. 27<sup>a</sup> Valley of Jehosaphat, | so that each one may receive in his  
 𐌹𐌺 body according to what he hath done, whether it be good or  
 whether it be evil. And they shall stand [there] in fear and  
 trembling awaiting the Spirit of My Father.

‘And as for thee, O My beloved John, thou shalt not die  
 until the thrones have been prepared on the Day of the  
 Resurrection, because the thrones of glory shall come down  
 from heaven, and ye shall sit upon them, and I will sit in  
 your midst. All the saints shall see the honour which I  
 will pay unto thee, O My beloved John. I will command

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xix. 28 ; xxv. 31 ff. ; Luke ix. 26.

Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, to come unto thee on that day, and he shall not be in any | form that will terrify thee, but he shall come unto thee in the form of a gentle man, with a face like unto that of Michael, and he shall take away thy soul and bring it unto Me. Thy body shall not be in the tomb for ever, neither shall the earth rest upon it for ever. All the saints shall marvel at thee because that shalt not be judged until thou judgest them. Thou shalt be dead for three and a half hours, lying upon thy throne, and all creation shall see thee. I will make thy soul to return to thy body, and thou shalt rise up and array thyself in apparel of glory, like unto that of one who hath stood up in the marriage chamber. | Ye shall judge the world, according to what I have ordained for you, and ye shall sit upon thrones and shall judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel. And I said with [My] mouth unto Paul, "We shall judge the angels before we come to the beings of the earth." For on that day [when] everything shall stand in fear and trembling I shall say, "Let them be separated from each other, even as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, the righteous on the right hand, and the sinners on the left," and not one shall make a sound (literally "give his voice") until he who is chief | in his day shall command him.

Fol. 28 a

'I shall look upon all My clay, and when I see that he is going to destruction I shall cry out to My Father, saying, "My Father, what profit is there in My Blood if he goeth to destruction?" And straightway the voice of My Father shall come unto Me from the seventh heaven, and none shall hear it except Myself, for I and My Father are One, saying, "Power belongeth unto Thee, O My Son, to do whatsoever Thou pleasest with Thy clay." And in that day I shall say, "I rejoice because Thou didst cleave My covering, and didst gird me about with joy, and My right hand shall bless Thee because I am without sorrow." | I shall say unto you in that day, "O My holy Apostles, and all My saints, whether ye be

Fol. 29 a

angels or archangels, or whether ye be prophets or righteous, and especially My Virgin Mother, and My chief Archangels Michael and Gabriel, I speak unto you, saying: No man who shall celebrate your commemoration upon earth, or shall give a loaf of bread in your name shall go to destruction." And straightway all the saints shall rush forward towards them, and each one shall seize upon those that belong to him. All

Fol. 29 b those who have shewn love | to you upon earth shall be  
 32 brought back to the others who are on the right hand. Then shall the others cry out with loud wailings, and tears, and with suffering and sorrow of the heart, saying, "O Lord the Merciful One, the Son of the Merciful One, shew mercy upon us." Thereupon straightway shall the Son of God shed tears over them, and He shall say unto them, "My word remaineth with My Father."

' And straightway My Father shall shut the door of heaven, and go His way. And I shall say to them straightway, "My Father doth not desire to shew mercy upon you." And they  
 Fol. 30 a shall cry out | the more, saying, "Have mercy upon us, for  
 36 the Devil would not permit us to repent. If we had known that these things were to be we should have repented even unto the shedding of blood." And forthwith I shall utter curses upon Satan that day, and I will make them to seize him, and to fetter him in the bonds which cannot be broken, and I will curse that lying prophet who hath led astray all the nations, and Antichrist, the son of perdition, and they shall cast them into the Lake of Fire which burneth with fire and sulphur, together with all those who have been their followers in the world, and they shall never enjoy repose,  
 Fol. 30 b day or night. | Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall  
 38 not be quenched.

'Now therefore, O My holy Apostles, behold I have shewn you everything which ye asked Me to explain, and how Adam transgressed until death came into the world, and how Abbatôn, the Angel [of Death], became king over all

created things. And now ye shall proclaim the day of his commemoration, so that the sons of men may be afraid and repent. Speak ye unto all mankind, saying, "Whosoever doeth that which is good shall rise in the resurrection . . . . . life. Whosoever shall do that | which is evil shall rise in the resurrection to judgement." Then the Apostles worshipped the Saviour, saying, "Our Lord and our God! Thou hast filled us with blessings, and Thou hast never disappointed us in any way, in [answering] the questions which we have asked of Thee." And the Saviour kissed them, and the angels bore Him up into heaven whilst they followed Him with their gaze. And the Apostles worshipped Him, and each one of them departed to preach what the Lord had commanded them. Fol. 31 a  
ΞΞ

Now behold, we have declared these things unto you, O my beloved, according to what we found in [the books of] the Library of Jerusalem, which our holy Fathers | the Apostles brought and placed therein, for the benefit of the believers and for the salvation of the men who are unbelievers. Now therefore, my beloved, let us be zealous in bestowing charities and making offerings on the day of the commemoration of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, each according to his power. Remember what is written in the Gospel wherein our Saviour ascribed more blessing to the poor woman who cast two mites into the treasury than to all the other folk who had cast in [their offerings], and how He said, 'All these have cast in gifts from their superabundance, but she hath given out of her absolute poverty.'<sup>1</sup> | May God Who hath deemed us worthy to gather together in this place this day to commemorate Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, whom God hath made to be king over us, hold us to be worthy to gather together in His kingdom, which is in the heavens. O my beloved, we all have need of the Spirit of our God, even as the wise man saith, 'As I wish to live, I wish to make every one else live Fol. 31 b  
ΞH

Fol. 32 a  
ΞΘ

<sup>1</sup> Mark xii. 42 ; Luke xxi. 3.

also.'<sup>1</sup> And may it be, O my beloved, that He will deem us worthy to hear the blessed voice, that is filled with all gladness, 'Come, ye blessed ones of My Father, inherit the | kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the foundation of the world,'<sup>2</sup> through the grace and love of man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to Whom be glory, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever! Amen.

Fol. 32 b

6

## COLOPHON

Remember of your charity Theopistus, the least worthy of men, O every one who shall read in this book, [and pray] that God will forgive me the multitude of my sins. Written on the eleventh day of the month of Thôth, in the Third Indiction, of the six hundred and ninety-eighth year of the Era of the Martyrs (i.e. A.D. 982).

With God! This little book was made by the zeal and care of the God-loving brother, Etout (?) Khaël, the son of the blessed Stephen, the lion hunter, who undertook [the writing thereof] at his own expense, and gave it to the Monastery of St. Mercurius of the city of Tbô (Apollinopolis, or Uṭfû, or Udfû), for the salvation of his soul, in order that [the monks might] read therein in the name of Abbatôn, the Angel of Death, and that Saint Mercurius might invoke Christ on his behalf, and bless him in this world, and deliver him from all the wiles of the Devil and of wicked men, and might help him to bring every work to a successful issue, and that when he cometh forth from this life the Archangel Abbatôn may shew kindness on his behalf before God, and may forgive him his sins. So be it! Amen. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> John xiv. 19.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxv. 34.



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